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AN

ACCOUNT

OF

TANGIER.

By Sir HUGH CHOLMLEY, Bart.

WITH

Some Account of himſelf and his Journey through FRANCE and SPAIN to that Place, where he was engaged in building the MOLE in the Time of King CHARLES the Second; and a Journal of the Work carrying on.

AND ALSO

Some of his SPEECHES in PARLIAMENT.

Taken from Manuſcripts now in the Poſſeſſion of NATHANIEL CHOLMLEY, of WHITBY and HOWSHAM, in the County of YORK, Eſquire, 1787.

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A DISCOURSE

A DISCOURSE OF TANGIER.

The Introduction, deſcribing the Streights of Gibraltar, *and Situation of* Tangier *in general.*

CAPE Traſlagar, which confines the ſouthern part of Spain, is that point of land from whence, with moſt reaſon, we may begin the entrance into the Streights of Gibraltar on the European ſide, as is the oppoſite Cape Spartell, on the Coaſt of Africa, the diſtance of theſe headlands being here (which is the broadeſt place) about ten leagues; in the narroweſt, from a point of land near Teriffa, ſcarce three, and in length about thirteen leagues to the eaſternmoſt point, Gibraltar.

Entering the Streights, three leagues from Cape Spartel, is a bay, which runs about one into the land, bounded on the eaſt by Cape Malabat, on the weſt, at the diſtance of two leagues, by that promontory on which ſtands the City of Tangier, upon a hill gradually deſcending, ſo that the ſea waſhes the walls of the town, happily ſet about the thirty-fifth degree of northern latitude, which Sir Walter Raleigh gives for the beſt of climates *, placing in this Adam's Paradiſe, though we know it

* Hiſtory of the World, c. III. § 15.

with leſs certainty than that the land of promiſe choſen by God for his people lies in the ſame degree.

Beſides the common excellency attending this region, Tangier is, from its ſituation, expoſed to two mighty ſeas; and hence ſo continually refreſhed with a pleaſant air in the ſummer, that, during this ſeaſon, her greateſt heats are as eaſily ſupported as the ſhades of England, which makes her equally qualified to be inriched with what nature uſeth to produce, either in a hot or cold country.

The air is exceeding healthy; the earth deſervedly reckoned to be the beſt and richeſt of Barbary, ſince the granary of the adjoining fields doth plentifully ſupply with corn the neighbouring country; the ſea abounding with divers ſort of excellent fiſh; the ſprings are not only fruitful in great abundance of wholeſome and living waters, but this ſo exquiſitely excellent, that the inhabitants of Spain, being themſelves not ill ſupplied, however parting from Tangier, uſe to fill their jars not only in ſufficiency for their journies, but over and above, with enough to make preſents to their neighbours, who deſervedly have theſe fountains in great admiration and eſteem.

We can ſcarce imagine any where a proſpect of more delight, the eye being on each ſide loſt with the beauty of a midland ſea, and a coaſt ſeen for many leagues ſo plainly, that no ſhip can paſs ſheltered from its view. The Creſeon and Sironick Gulfs, that made Corinth ſo famed of old for its double harbour, are but petty ſtreams compared to the inlet that paſſes here to the eaſt and to the weſt, and that with ſuch a neceſſity to the trader, that it fits this place as well for dominion as riches; and if antiquity, which gives veneration, give alſo excellency, then might Tangier deſervedly challenge an eſteem as one of the firſt cities in the world, at leaſt if we may credit

Procopius, who writ himſelf about 1100 years paſt; and, to prove that theſe parts were firſt inhabited by thoſe Canaanites that fled from the face of Joſhua, tells us, that the ſame was recorded upon pillars extant in his time, to be ſeen near the city of Tangier, where was ſet down the ſtory of their flight, and fixing here, in the firſt characters and language of their country.

Leo Africanus mentions *, as the opinion of ſome hiſtoriographers, that this city was firſt built by one Sedded, the ſon of Hadd, Emperor over the whole world, who, deſigning a place that might match the earthly Paradiſe, choſe to fix it here, compaſſing the walls with braſs, and covering the roofs of the houſes with gold and ſilver, exacting hence tribute from all the cities in the world. However fabulous may be the ſtory, it is plain from this, the ancients thought the place ſituated both for beauty and command.

We know from better records that this country was anciently governed by Kings, betrayed by Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans, added by Caligula to their patrimony. It was anciently called Tingis, and from hence the country hereabouts Mauritania Tingitana; by the Emperor Conſtantine made part of the dioceſe of Spain; firſt gained from the Romans by the Goths, after the Saracens became Lords of theſe countries, from whom Tangier was taken by the Portugals about the year 472, the people inhabiting theſe parts being for a long time called Moors, from the Latin word Mauri; which name was poſſibly given, becauſe it ſignifies dark and ſwarthy, in alluſion to the complection of the people inhabiting theſe parts, though they are not a people black like

* Lib. III.

thoſe

thoſe of Guinea; but in features and in manners more reſembling ſome of their neighbours, inhabitants of Europe.

Afterward this city followed the ſeveral changes of Portugal, and at laſt came into the hands of our dread Sovereign Charles the Second, by virtue of a marriage between his Majeſty and Catherina, daughter to John the fourth King of Portugal.

The City of Tangier *deſcribed as it ſtood when delivered into the Hands of the King of* England, *with the Way of governing and defending the ſame uſed by the* Portugueſe, *and their Manner of making War with the* Moors.

From a long time the Kings of Portugal had been accuſtomed to defend Tangier only by burghers, inhabitants of the place; yet ſo as theſe were formed under ſome warlike diſcipline, and enrolled into the King's pay, to the number of one thouſand foot and about three hundred horſe. The foot was divided into five companies. The gates of the town, towards the land, they uſually kept locked, and had no other guard, either by day or night, than ſome few centries or watchmen upon the walls of the town, that were to give notice upon any approach of the Moor. Thinking themſelves ſecure enough without any other formality, every man purſued at home the little buſineſs of his family, and repaired upon alarms to their reſpective poſts. The offenſive war was only with their horſe, of which number were twenty-four extraordinarily well mounted, perſons of chiefeſt courage, and exceeding knowing in the paſſes and the ground. Eight of theſe uſually went out by night, to liſten and diſcover what party of Moors were in the field, and returned to Tangier with the intelligence by

by break of day. For more certain advice, eſpecially before any attempt was made, were ſent out into the country, one or more foot ſpies, who carrying with them proviſion for a day or two, and being clad in Mooriſh attire, and ſpeaking the language moſt perfectly, uſed to lurk in the woods, and more obſcure parts, and give notice what number of Moors, what cattle, and where the booty lay; and according to their advices the Portugueſe took their meaſures, ſending out ſuch parties of horſe as they judged ſufficient for the preſent expedition. Theſe were uſually armed with lances, intermixed with long guns, as generally are the Moors horſe; and for the moſt part they made war in the ſame way, by ambuſh and ſurpriſe; or otherways, if they met, by diſperſing and ſingling out each his man, unleſs when over-numbered they were forced to retreat in cloſer order, relying in this caſe chiefly upon the ſpeed and goodneſs of their horſes. Thus did thoſe of Portugal, by good conduct and intelligence, make a profitable war with the Moors for many years, without receiving any conſiderable loſs, other than in a party of about fifty horſe, totally deſtroyed ſome few days before the Engliſh came poſſeſſed of the place; and this was occaſioned by the precipitation of him that commanded the horſe, a perſon in ſecond power, well-beloved, and ill-affected to the deliſon in ſecond power, well-beloved, and ill-affected to the delivery of the city unto the Engliſh, who had hopes, by the advantage of returning with an extraordinary booty, to become ſo popular as to have diſputed matters with the Governor himſelf; but loſt his life by hazarding too far, and in doing ſo put an end to the deſigns the Spaniards had upon the place.

The government was, during this time, of very good profit; becauſe of conſiderable number of ſlaves, either voluntarily rendering themſelves, or elſe taken and ſold at the market rate, which is about twenty pounds for an ordinary man or woman:

woman: nor had the inhabitants other ſupply of fleſh than the cattle they took from the Moor, living chiefly upon the bread the King ſent, and the product of their gardens, the houſes being thus far happy, that there was ſcarce any one that had not ſome portion of earth, which, in ſo fertile a ſoil and climate, anſwered well the neceſſities of a family uſed to live of little, and that chiefly in bread, herbs, fruit, and ſuch fiſh as was plentifully enough afforded out of the adjoining bay. For the neceſſary command of the place, beſides the Governor, who was always a perſon of quality and title, there was a Serjeant-major and two Aid-majors; and each company of foot was commanded by ſo many Captains, Enſigns, Serjeants, and Corporals, that were at the head of their reſpective ſquadrons. The King's allowance was monthly, to every foot ſoldier a hanegue of wheat, which is a meaſure containing about a buſhel and an half Wincheſter, beſides nine teſtones in money, every teſtone being about ten pence Engliſh; two-thirds of which was paid in cloaths. A Corporal had fifteen teſtones, a Serjeant had twenty-five, an Enſign forty, and three hanegues of wheat, a Captain fifty-ſix, with five hanegues of wheat, and this was the monthly eſtabliſhment to the foot. The horſemen bought their horſes and arms themſelves, the King allowing for maintenance of both four hanegues and three-quarters of wheat by the month; but the twenty-four horſe, kept on purpoſe for diſcovering the field, had each an allowance of nine hanegues and one-half by the month. The horſe had not any other ſet pay in money; but were rewarded according to their ſervices, either by ſharing the booty they took, after a ſet proportion; or otherways, as was judged expedient. Theſe allowances from the King were wont to be continued from father to ſon, and eſpecially unto the wives and

children

children of thoſe that were killed by the Moors. The wheat and cloaths was reaſonably well ſupplied by undertakers, and the money as it could be got from Court.

For the civil government, the King ſent every three years a Judge from Portugal, who, with under-officers, governed the city: however, theſe were ſubordinate to the Governor, who ſigned judicial proceedings, there being appeals from him to Lix^a.

At this time the town conſiſted of about five hundred houſes, and one handſome Pariſh-church, a Convent of Auſtin Friars, and nine other Chapels, or places of public devotion. The number of inhabitants eſteemed between 4000 and 5000, of which women and children were allowed to be at the leaſt two parts of three. The circuit of the walls was about paces, and the area of the whole, comprehending the Caſtle, contained acres of land. The Caſtle itſelf, ſituated on an eminence that gives it abſolute command of the place, was begun to be fortified by Sebaſtian, King of Portugal; the ſouth and eaſt ſide, which regards the town, being finiſhed to the ditch by a whole baſtion, between two half baſtions, built after the manner of modern fortification; and ſo much done towards the north, as, by the advantage of its natural ſtrength, made it very ſecure on that ſide; but the weſt, although it regards the enemy's country, was left only defended with old walls, and an ill ditch, built with ſmall towers, flanking each other at convenient diſtance, in the ſame manner as is the reſt of the city, incompaſſed and ſecured from the aſſaults of the enemy: the whole not to be attacked in many places at the ſame time, becauſe the ſea ſurrounding it on the north and eaſt, preſerves the better half of the place. There was alſo ſtanding on the eaſtermoſt point an

old fortification, which now bears the name of York Caſtle, waſhed by the ſea on two ſides, and the other ſtrengthened with a ditch, that makes it very convenient for public magazines of warlike ſtores; and near unto this was a very fair magazine of corn, and other eatable proviſions, built in the year 1651. The place is fruitful of quarries, which makes the building generally with ſtones, and the houſes covered with tiles, after the uſe of Spain and Portugal. The city had two gates only; towards the land one, and the other to the ſea; and there was beſides a foraging port from the Caſtle.

Several Diſcourſes concerning the Intereſts of Tangier, *with a Deſcription of the Manner and Way had by the* Engliſh *for taking Poſſeſſion of the ſame.*

The match with Portugal was no ſooner made public, than it became to be known Tangier was to be had as part of the Queen's portion. Thoſe who found themſelves intereſted in this alliance were not wanting to cry up the acqueſt with all imaginable circumſtances of advantage; and thoſe who were engaged in contrary deſigns, as ſedulous to leſſen it by all the ways they could. In favour of the place it was urged, that his Majeſty, by having a harbour here, might keep a ſquadron of ſhips to exact tribute of veſſels paſſing the Streights; that this would be a terror not only to the nobleſt part of Europe, but have the ſame influence upon the pirates of Barbary, and a conſiderable part of the Ottoman Empire; that Spain was ſo near, and from hence ſo ſubject to its inconvenience, as for the future to be much more ſubject to the Engliſh power; that as to the reſpect of trade, great things might be hoped for, by introducing a new and inland traffic

into

into Africa; that the making the place a free port was likely to attract much of riches from the Spaniſh Indies, becauſe the ſaving cuſtoms would be ſo conſiderable as to make the merchant uſe all induſtry upon arrival of ſhips in the oppoſite Bay of Cadiz, privately to convey their goods hither, as to a warehouſe from whence they might be after ſhipped to their reſpective markets; and that beſides, out of the ſame conſideration, in other caſes it might become very conſiderable as a magazine for the reception of ſuch merchandiſe as was uſeful for the conſumption of the greateſt part of the known world; and that Livorne, which neither began with ſo advantageous a ſituation, nor had ſo conſiderable a power to ſupport it, was a fair inſtance of the reaſonable hopes that might be conceived of Tangier's increaſe and importance. On the other hand it was argued, with no leſs weight of reaſon, that the advantages ſo largely propoſed, was rather the expectation of forward men, than what might reaſonably be hoped for upon a weighty diſquiſition of all circumſtances of this affair; for, admitting a harbour was made, the exacting tribute upon trading veſſels was a thing of ſo univerſal a conſequence as not to be maintained by the power of a ſingle nation; that Spain was already in a low condition, and under ſuch neceſſities of a friendſhip with England, as made farther dependance needleſs, and of little uſe; and that, by the help of its friendly harbours, his Majeſty might, at the charge of another Prince, have the ſame advantage upon his enemies that he did propoſe from the acqueſt of Tangier; that it was vain to expect any great matters from any new trade into Africa, the country being poor, and thinly inhabited by a people barbarous from their religion and their laws, not to be reconciled to a Chriſtian correſpondence; beſides, they could not be expected to advance our

trade farther than what might be balanced by the return of their own commodities; and this they uſed to do from ſome of their own ports, and therefore were not likely to withdraw the trade from theſe, to enrich a place that was ſubject to the dominion of a foreign Prince; that ſtealing cuſtoms was in Spain ſo common a trade, and ſo much connived at, the ſaving that little they paid, was not worth the charge and hazard of ſending their merchandiſe to Tangier; and that the expence of unlading and warehouſing goods there was likely to be ſo inconſiderable, as to give little encouragement for making that a magazine for other ſtores.

That Livorne, although it wanted ſo healthy a ſituation, and might be deficient in ſome other particulars, yet was abundantly recompenced by a continent to friend, and prince only intent to make it grow and flouriſh; that ſince moſt of what was urged in behalf of Tangier had dependance upon the accompliſhing of a mole, the expectation of this ſeemed ſo remote, and depending upon ſo many contingencies, as ſcarce in prudence to admit the undertaking, which, ſhould it at laſt be accompliſhed, was not likely to be had but by the expence of ſo great a treaſure as would in itſelf far exceed whatever benefit might be expected from it.

Others, who had nothing to bias their underſtandings, unleſs it were that public ſpirit which made them wiſh the honour of their King, and love the glory of their country, could not, without reluctancy, be perſuaded to think ſo meanly of the Engliſh nation, that for many ages had carried a figure equaling the greateſt Potentates, and lately had been ſo terrible under an Uſurper, as to believe it on the ſudden become ſo low, and of ſo poor eſteem (notwithſtanding the being cheriſhed from the warmth of its natural Prince) as not to be qualified

to

to receive a place, by all confeſſed to be ſituated upon the greateſt paſs in the world, merely becauſe it wanted power, or it wanted wealth to maintain it; and this they heard with more indignation, for at the ſame time it was commonly diſcourſed of what ſtrange importance the place would be, and how great a curb to the reſt of mankind, if either in the poſſeſſion of his Chriſtian Majeſty, or in the hands of the leſs glorious, and but late erected, Commonwealth of Holland.

It was, indeed, held unreaſonable to believe all that was ſaid in praiſe of Tangier; and yet there ſeemed cauſes ſufficient to balance the expence: the rather, becauſe the Engliſh, being a potent people, covetous of honour, would never be ſatisfied, unleſs his Majeſty had always under his care ſomething of public concernment, that tended to aggrandize the reputation of the nation; and that poſſibly the improvement of Tangier might anſwer this end at a leſs charge than any other expedient that could be thought upon, and yet be an action which carried with it at leaſt the appearance of as much honour and greatneſs, as whatever attempt had been before endeavoured by any of our preceding Monarchs, and ſuch as would undoubtedly have new influence upon the intereſts and councils of all the Potentates of Europe. That the charge of the place, which was the only argument of force againſt it, being farther inquired into, did not prove to be near of ſuch conſequence as it ſeemed upon the firſt noiſe and appearance; for that part which had reſpect to the Mole would end when that was finiſhed, and the garriſon neceſſary for its ſecurity might be reduced to a reaſonable eſtabliſhment, which would again be leſſened by ſuch perquiſites as might ariſe on the place; that the greateſt part of the reſt would not be ſent in money, but in victuals and other neceſſaries from the abundant ſtores, and

to

to the advantage of the trade of the nation; ſo that the remainder, which could only be reckoned the expence of treaſure to the kingdom, would be leſs conſiderable than what may be allowed many of his Majeſty's ſubjects to caſt away upon their private pleaſures, and therefore not to be repined at, if expended barely for the noiſe it made, and that it was of public honour.

Theſe were the reaſonings that paſſed commonly upon the ſubject, among men living out of affairs; for thoſe at helm, having before reſolved upon the acceptance of the place, were now only buſied in ſuiting it with a garriſon and eſtabliſhment that was proper for it: and in the adjuſting of this were much guided by the Portugal Ambaſſador, Marquis of Sandy, who was a gentleman of fair reputation, had been exceeding inſtrumental in bringing about the match, and ſuppoſed to be moſt knowing in all that might relate to Tangier; but being chiefly intent upon the ſervice of his own country and maſter, then in a condition low enough, wiſely concluding, that an extraordinary garriſon at Tangier was not unlikely to give the Spaniards ſuch juſt occaſion of jealouſy, as, being again increaſed by intelligence on purpoſe framed to delude them, might occaſion their drawing a conſiderable part of their forces from the frontiers of Portugal to defend thoſe parts of Andaluſia that were oppoſite to Tangier. He uſed his utmoſt dexterity, and at laſt prevailed upon our Councils (poſſibly out of the ſame conſiderations willing enough to be perſuaded) to ſend a little army to Tangier, conſiſting of four regiments of foot, and one hundred horſe, which, with ſtaff-officers and others, made up four thouſand men, and brought the yearly expence to ſeventy thouſand pounds; and though the doing this had the effect which the Ambaſſador and, I ſuppoſe, the King deſired, in really

really diſtracting the Spaniards, ſo as to occaſion a conſiderable diverſion of their forces, and hence the ſpending, to little purpoſe, the following ſummer: however, it may be reckoned that fatal circumſtances in affairs, to the conſequence of which Tangier owes all the dirt and diſreputation that hath at any time been ſince caſt upon it; for beſides that ſo extraordinary a preparation did at firſt require a great ſum of ready money, ſo the expence was on the ſudden hugely increaſed by the neceſſary delays that detained a conſiderable fleet for many months in the Downs, and until it was victualed a-new two or three times over; and afterwards the ſums continually called upon for the pay of the garriſon, though it be admitted, that the greateſt part returned into the bowels of the nation, were however ſo extremely burdenſome to his Majeſty's particular Exchequer, that many of his miniſters (who had otherways kindneſs enough for Tangier) began to be ſenſible of ſo great an iſſue of money continually had from the Crown, when it laboured with ſuch neceſſities as it uſually happened to do, and gave the enemies of the place juſt advantage upon every extremity to leſſen the kindneſs and eſteem his Majeſty had for it, by diſcourſes ſeaſonably grating upon this ſore and tender part; whereas, if a garriſon had been ſent at a fourth part of the charge, the ſum would have been ſo little felt, and the expence ſo very inconſiderable, as never to be once laid in balance with the honour and advantage that was expected from the place; and yet ſuch an eſtabliſhment would have been full as good for the ſecurity of it, there being at that time nothing to defend but the walls of the Town and Caſtle. The latter being ſecured by the garriſon, the reſt of the place was in perfect ſubjection to it, and might have been kept by the inhabitants that had defended it with ſafety ſo many years, whoſe

faith

faith could not have been ſuſpected, becauſe of the hazard and the awe from the Caſtle; beſides, of themſelves poor and inconſiderable, might have been farther ſecured by truſty officers impoſed upon them, and having only in view the Moor and the Spaniard, the natural animoſity unto both of which the Portugal ſucks from the breaſt of his mother, ſeemed to render him as capable of truſt as his Majeſty's ſubjects, that are not obſerved to have for theſe the ſame hatred and averſions. The world had its thoughts at this time employed about the ſeveral conſiderations which aroſe upon the news that the Engliſh were to be poſſeſſed of Tangier, and Spain intent, all that was poſſible, to prevent it. With ſo much advantage from the long delay, it is believed they might have ſucceeded in their deſigns, if the Earl of Sandwich, on the one hand, had not kept a conſiderable fleet as guard upon the place; and, on the other, the officer commanding the horſe had not been deſtroyed, who was ſuppoſed to be gained, but ended with his misfortune to fall (as before obſerved) in an engagement with the Moor, ſuddenly after which the Portugal Governor, Counde of Vildorez, was perſuaded to admit the Earl of Sandwich to land upon the place five hundred ſeamen; which was begun accordingly the 16th day of January, and ſeveral Engliſh names given unto moſt of the conſiderable poſts of the place; and from that day the Engliſh are to be reckoned poſſeſſors of the ſame, though the garriſon from England, under the command of the Earl of Peterburg, as Governor and Captain-general of his Majeſty's Forces in Africa, did not come into the Road ſooner than the 29th day of the ſaid January, which was in the year 1661, according to the Engliſh account, and entered the Town and Caſtle the day following.

No

No ſooner had ſo great a number of men crowded all the parts of the City, but the evil conſequences were farther felt, by driving from the place all the ancient inhabitants, who choſe rather to quit their dwelling than to live in ways ſo far different from the cuſtoms of ſouthern countries. The free converſation, which in the North is uſed between men and women, was intolerable to a people that make jealouſy their honour, and therefore could not ſubmit to thoſe public liberties which ſoldiers would take with their wives and daughters; though in this, perhaps, was more of innocency than might be at many other times, where the ſcandal ſeemed leſs open and apparent.

By the favour of the Earl of Sandwich they conveyed away themſelves and what they had in the fleet under his command: and thus his Majeſty loſt a multitude of people, in which conſiſts the riches of a Prince; of people ſkilled in the ways and in the wars of their enemies, and that had been uſed to live ſo ſparingly, they might have been kept upon the exceſſes of the garriſon, or at leaſt at an eaſy charge by ſome inconſiderable ſupply of corn out of the King's ſtores: nor did they leave the place but as men that choſe rather to periſh than ſubmit to the freedoms which were daily uſed, and which they found could not be prevented in ſo great a number of ſoldiers; for they went from their houſes and their homes with ſad eyes and heavy hearts, as having no better proſpect of a livelihood than what might be hoped from the cold charity of their countrymen, that were themſelves poor, and under neceſſities enough. But the greateſt inconvenience of all, which came from the conſequence of the exceſſive garriſon, was the loſs of the reputation of the place in the beginning, when it ought to have been preſerved with all the care and tenderneſs imagi-

nable; and this followed from the neceſſary miſeries that attended a multitude, who could neither come provided from England with what was requiſite, nor on the ſudden ſettle ſuch a correſpondence as might have ſupplied them from the adjoining parts, ſo that preſently a great many houſes were deſtroyed to make fire for the pot; and yet the ſoldiers had ſo little care or convenience for the dreſſing of their victuals, that for want of watering their ſalt meats, or ordering their proviſions as they ought to have done, appeared the bad effects of an ill diet in the great mortality which preſently followed; the noiſe of which, and ſufferings the poor ſoldiers endured, gave ſo bad impreſſions of the place among the commons of England, that they heard nothing with more deteſtation than the being ſent to Tangier, which they uſually eſteemed no better than an ill priſon, from which they could only hope to be freed by a grave, the common friend, that put a ſpeedy end to their misfortunes; nor could the place at that time deſerve much of better commendation from the relations of thoſe that were the beſt to be believed. There was no ſafety out of the walls of the town, nor freſh meat to be had within it, unleſs a little, very bad, and at ſuch extravagant rates as continued to increaſe the ill report. There wanted, it is true, neither money, nor wine; and this was liberally taken by all ſorts, as an antidote to drive away ſorrow, and the melancholy reflections they had of the country left behind, and the place they were come to; but what diſorders, and what diſreputation, did of neceſſity follow, may be concluded from the nature of the colony, conſiſting chiefly of ſoldiers of divers nations, that had been long bred in armies of the greateſt liberty; of merchants that had been uſed to the affairs and to the vices of the world, and repaired hither to make up the ruins of their broken

 fortunes;

fortunes; the reſt of the men and of the women were but few, and generally as virtuous and as good as thoſe that follow camps, or make the firſt beginning of plantations. There might be ſome of ſober and orderly living; but certainly of theſe the number was ſo ſmall, as not to have credit enough to be obſerved among the crowd of others. The government and the law were wholly martial, without any power civil to give the place a reputation: and all the money coming from the great eſtabliſhment was in a manner ſpent in wine and brandy; ſo that, this being the gaining trade, every one in power taſted ſome way or other of the ſweet thereof, and it became the common intereſt to encourage the drinking humour, all they could; and this the rather, becauſe the conſideration of what might be for the good and improvement of Tangier came but little into the minds of men who abhorred the thoughts of living long there, and who were ſo well read in Scripture as to know that money anſwers all things, and therefore neglected no means to compaſs this, as the only expedient that could recompence the evils they had to ſuffer.

And thus having ſhewed how our countrymen came into Africa, and what inconveniencies followed the over-great numbers of men which were at firſt ſent; before I proceed farther, it may not be unneceſſary to ſet down ſome little ſtate of the adjoining parts, as it was at the time, and had been for ſome preceding years; the rather, becauſe the difference of manners, the diſtance of the place, and averſion to a correſpondence with Europe, makes their affairs but little known among us; nor can I deliver any thing in this kind upon more authentic terms than that of examining, in the beſt way I could, ſome Jews, and other intelligent perſons of their own nation: the ſtory was given me in effect as it is hereafter ſet down.

A ſhort hiſtorical Account of the Affairs of Weſt Barbary, *and the Parts adjoining, for the Space of Forty Years paſt, to the Year of our Lord* 1671.

For a long time a conſiderable part of Africa, bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the weſt by the main Atlantic Ocean, was divided into the great kingdoms of Feſs and Morocco, and theſe ſubdivided again into ſeveral provinces, each of which was at firſt governed by particular Lords, and after every of the ſaid kingdoms by their reſpective Monarchs; but for many years paſt, that the Mahometan religion had been in power in thoſe parts, the ſaid kingdoms were governed by one Prince, who was of the blood of their Prophet, and by us commonly called King of Morocco, ſubject, however, very frequently, by ſeveral viciſſitudes of fortune, to return unto the government of particular Kings, the ſtory of which, being in remote times, dark and uncertain, I omit, and leave it ſet down as it is in ſeveral books that have recorded the hiſtory unto the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty, about which time, I find that Muley Hamet reigned King of Feſs; whoſe ill manners and cuſtoms rendering him leſs fit for government, and odious to his people, occaſioned a conſpiracy, which ended in the impriſonment of his perſon; and though from this he eſcaped in woman's attire, and endeavoured by arms to revenge the wrong, yet, having loſt his intereſt, his perſon was again taken, and put to a violent death.

There was none of the blood of Mahomet found to ſucceed, and by a ſacred and univerſal conſent none other can preſume to take the title of Xerifes, or Kings of the country; which

cauſed

caused for a time such a remissness in government as to introduce unto the supreme power a gentleman of considerable quality and reputed piety, born in a town called Benjmaleck, in the way between Alcazar and Sally, whose name was Sid Mahamet el Hagash. Though he durst not assume a royal title, he did a holy one, and governed by the name of "The Saint," using all artifice to beget a belief among the common people that he was really what he pretended to be; because this they have in great veneration, and for that they usually measure it by the transportation against Christians. This Saint was always, in his actions and his words, their most bitter enemy; which in time made him popular with an ignorant people, who close their eyes upon their beds of death with greater consolation and peace of mind, the more they remember to have dipped their shafts in Christian blood; which we need the less wonder at, if we do consider them men, certainly differing as much from Christians, as Christians do from them; and that the world, though full of zeal, has little according to knowledge, or studious of good works, the usual estimation of mens merits not being taken from what they are abstracted and in truth, but from the parties and the factions with which they side and interest themselves. The Saint prevailed so far as to raise great armies of men, and also to reduce all the towns and country to his obedience, which he afterwards held for about thirteen years, changing in this time his active life to ease and pleasure, which drew a contempt upon him, and extinguished the opinion had of his holiness. Hence followed conspiracies and plots, and a general discontent, which awakened him so far, as to endeavour to secure himself again by his former practices and shew of zeal against the Christians; but retiring, with less success than was expected, from an expedition had against Tangier, most

moſt of his army deſerted him; ſo that, with a ſmall party, marching to the fields of Alcazar, a Xach, or Governor, placed by himſelf in a town adjoining, ſurrounded his tent with a party of about two hundred horſe, where, ſleeping, he is murdered by two ſlaves, who carry his head to their maſter. After whoſe death, the Alarbes were buſy about a new ſucceſſor. Theſe are a ſort of people every where ſpread up and down, that neither live in greater towns, nor leſſer villages or houſes, and yet are, from long antiquity, of great power and intereſt in the country. They ſeem to be deſcended from the ancient patriarchs. Their manner of life is deſcribed to be juſt like that of thoſe primitive fathers; for they have no habitations but in tents and tabernacles, which they remove from place to place, as their intereſt or their humour leads them, and in the ſame loving manner, all under the ſame hut. With the little children lie the kids and the lambs, and all that is young and tender. Their beſt meat is milk and honey; and they have another famous diſh, much like unto it, made with water and flour, which they call Cuſcaſhoe. They are under no certain government, but every man is King in his own family; and the greateſt among them are but keepers of ſheep, there being none among themſelves capacitated for the chief command; and the fame of one Benbooker having reached their ears, as not only a holy man, but of a prophetic ſpirit, the Alarbes make choice of him for their general protector, who was at this time (being about the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty-two) governing a province of great extent, and of which he was Lord, called Zauya, part of the kingdom of Morocco, and ſubject by ſome kind of dependance to the Kings thereof. Though Benbooker was about ſixty years of age, yet the welcome news of his increaſing

power

power gave him ſo much youth and vigour, as well to anſwer the expectations of the people; and within few days he ſaw himſelf at the head of near one hundred thouſand [illegible] moſt horſe; and with theſe he marches through the principal parts of his new dominions, ſettling at Sallee, Tituan, and other the moſt conſiderable poſts, ſuch of his relations and creatures as he thought neceſſary; comes at laſt to the chief city of Feſs, where, having ſpent ſome days in perfecting the eſtabliſhment of his new government, by reforming and modeliſing all after his own pleaſure, puniſhing and rewarding according to the merit of the reſpective occaſions, he leaves his ſon Governor there, and retires himſelf back to his own country, with an univerſal approbation of his great wiſdom and policy; but in the way is met by the King of Morocco, who, grown jealous of his greatneſs, comes to deſtroy him with an army, which Benbooker, in his own defence, was forced to encounter, and with ſuch ſucceſs as totally to rout the King's army, purſuing his perſon to the walls of the great city Morocco, where he was for ſome time beſieged, and might have been reduced to the laſt extremity, but that the ſenſe Benbooker had of his own duty, made him conſent both to the life and to the liberty of his ſupreme Lord, declaring farther, That he durſt not embrue his hands in the holy blood of a Xeriffe, that was their lawful King; and that it was not ambition, but the obligation of a neceſſary defence, as well as compaſſion of the diſtreſſes of his countrymen, that made him take up arms, and practiſe hoſtility; and that God had raiſed him up, not to diſſolve, but to reſtore government. And thus he retired back, and lived in his own province; preſerving, however, his authority in the kingdom of Feſs intire and abſolute for about ten years together. After which time, ſome of the chief

Alarbes

Alarbes falling in diſcord with their neighbouring governors, [illegible] themſelves up into great parties, barbarouſly [illegible] and murdered ſeveral of them, among whom fell undiſtinguiſhed a brother or two of Benbooker's, and at the ſame time died his ſon, Governor of Feſs, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, albeit, in this revolution among the Alarbes, that city ſeemed to preſerve a very ſpecious and ſolemn obedience to Benbooker, all things remaining there in great tranquillity and repoſe. Benbooker, hearing of theſe bloody diſorders, which it was piety to revenge, marches immediately againſt theſe Alarbes with a conſiderable army, puniſhing thoſe he found authors in the foreſaid rebellion and murder of his relations, according to the uſe of theſe ſouthern countries, by deſtroying root and branch, with the guilty men, their innocent wives and children. But whilſt he was thus ſacrificing to his revenge, the people of Feſs, either fearing the like effect of his anger, as conſcious of the ſame guilt, or otherwiſe weary of his government, ſend privately their Deputies, and make tender of their crown and obedience to Muly Mahamed, Prince of Taffaletta, which is a province within the kingdom of Feſs, lying ſoutherly, but not ſo remote as to retard his ſeaſonable arrival: upon which he was immediately received, and proclaimed King with all neceſſary pomp and ſolemnity, and this happened about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-two, moſt other places following the example of the metropolis, ſo that the defection from Benbooker's government was almoſt univerſal; and at the ſame time, among the reſt, his kinſman, Governor of Arzilla (ſituated upon the Weſtern Ocean, a little day's journey from Tangier) was ſurpriſed and murdered, and Gyland choſen in his place, who was born in a ſmall adjoining village called Benigufat, ſcarce a gentleman, but ſon to an ingenious man,

who

who affected holineſs, and was ſo popular by his malignity to Chriſtians, as at any time againſt theſe to raiſe a party of one hundred and fifty or two hundred horſe, which he frequently uſed to do, and head himſelf with great perſonal courage. He was, after many more fortunate expeditions, ſlain at laſt, pickqueering with the Portugueſe in the fields of Tangier. Gyland did inherit both the courage and the craft of his father, and gains the ſame good eſteem by the ſame profeſſion of great devotion to their Prophet, and implacable hatred to the Chriſtians. He fortifies Arzilla the beſt he could, it being a town that had a good wall and ditch built in old time by the Portugueſe, and, lying upon the ſea, was a commodious retreat in all adverſe turn of affairs. He farther proſecutes his good fortune, and without much reſiſtance makes himſelf maſter of Alcazar and the neighbouring territories, receiving from them the ſame contributions they uſed formerly to pay unto preceding Governors, and carried matters with ſo much prudence and moderation, that we find him continuing the poſt he had under the foreſaid Muley Hamett, who, though only heir to the province of Taffaletta, was the firſt that called himſelf King thereof, as a prognoſtic of his greater ſucceſs in being choſen afterwards to rule the more glorious dominion of Feſs, where he ſeated himſelf without much obſtruction from Benbooker, who yields to the neceſſity, and peaceably retires to his own province and government, with a kind of a pious ſubmiſſion to a prince who was of the blood of Mahomet, and conſequently qualified to be a Xeriffe of the country. This King appears to be valiant and wiſe, and was ſucceſsful in ſeveral expeditions againſt the Alarbes, whom he reduced, to the augmentation of his own power and dominion, with which his high blood added greatly to his fame and reputation; but making too much haſte

to be rich by many oppreſſions and exactions, before the government was ſettled, he diſguſted his ſubjects ſo much, that in twelve months time they conſpire anew, and by addreſſing themſelves once more to Benbooker, call again for his aid and relief, to protect them from the tyrannies they were likely to ſuffer under the preſent government. Benbooker made ſuch ſpeed, as to be with an army of thirty thouſand upon his march towards Feſs, ere the King had notice of his intentions; who, making the beſt preparations he could on the ſudden, is conſtrained to give battle in the fields of Feſs; where having loſt the day, he is forced to fly and make his eſcape, with about five hundred men, to the caſtle of new Feſs, which he had before provided ſo well as to anſwer a ſiege of nine months; at the end of which, the King gets away by night into his paternal inheritance of Taffaletta, and being there well received by his ſubjects, contents himſelf with his firſt rule and government, which he enjoys in peace for near fifteen years, excepting ſome ſmall diſturbance that he met with from the practices of his brother, which at laſt proved his fatal ruin; for the King had one only brother of the half blood, that was his father's ſon by a black woman, named Muhamed Rexid (the renowned Prince who doth this day ſway the ſceptre of all theſe parts), and is commonly known by the name of Taffaletta, ſo called from his father's province, and where he himſelf was born. This young Prince appeared always to be of a high and ambitious ſpirit, which gave the King his brother juſt jealouſy; and yet not enough to prevail upon him to do any act of ſeverity, until the diſcovery of a plot had againſt his royal perſon, from the revenge of which Taffaletta made ſhift to eſcape, with a ſelect and thin number of followers; and, without extenuating his fault, as conſcious of the guilt, flies

unto

unto the deſerts, where he thought he might ſecurely reſt his wearied head; but is ſo cloſely purſued, as to be, after three days, ſurpriſed faſt aſleep upon the mountains; from which reſt the King himſelf is ſaid to call him with this true ſaying, though at that time facetiouſly ſpoken: "Rexid, awake, and remember, thoſe that have much mind to rule, ought to have little leiſure to ſleep." After this, with due regard to his quality, the King takes care for his confinement in a very ſtrong caſtle, from the impriſonment of which he was, after ſome years, ſet free, upon the interceſſion of many of the nobility and other his friends; and, upon his ſolemn ſubmiſſion and vow of obedience, is not only reſtored unto his liberty, but to his brother's favour. Which bounty of the King his royal Sovereign he doth again forfeit, by making his eſcape a ſecond time from Court, and puts himſelf at the head of ſeveral Alarbes, and other diſcontented perſons, among whom he had laid his deſigns; but, being cloſely followed by the King, was heard to bewail his condition, as one that did not intend a rebellion, but a remote life, free from the jealouſies his being at Court might occaſion; and paſſionately complained how unhappy he was, that he could not be ſuffered to live upon beans and barley, without being purſued by his brother, Lord of a country full of gold and ſilver. However, he had ſo well increaſed his party, as to get an army numerous enough to give a pitched battle, which, after a long diſpute, ended with the death of the King, and Taffaletta's proclaimed victory; but the Moor, that by accident killed the King, bringing the news out of hopes to be rewarded, was, contrary to his expectation, received by Taffaletta with a ſad countenance, who, breaking out into tears, aſked haſtily, "What was to be done with a dog that killed his maſter?" Upon which the Moor made his eſcape, and is

ſaid to live at this day a Friar in Spain. However, the victory happened not with ſuch ſucceſs as Taffaletta did expect; for the King's ſons, to whom of right the ſucceſſion did belong, were ſoon powerful enough to raiſe a ſecond army, of ſuch force as Taffaletta thought it too big for him to deal with, and therefore, conducted by a better fate, without hazarding a ſecond time, retires with a feleſt number to the remoter parts of Botoya, driving underhand his deſigns, and by ſeveral artifices increaſing his power and intereſt.

Benbooker had before this, for ſome years, been enjoying himſelf and his new dominions in peace and quietneſs, living for the moſt part of the time in his own province of Zauya, unto which he ſoon retired (according to his former cuſtom), after he had ſettled new Governors, and regulated affairs neceſſary to preſerve obedience in the territories of Feſs. Gayland, during theſe changes, managed his affairs with ſo much dexterity, that he ſeems to have hit upon the advice which the wiſe man gives in the text; for he did not quit his place becauſe his ruler roſe againſt him; but by yielding pacified his offences, and kept the government of Arzilla, paying obedience to Benbooker, and treating his agents with the greateſt reſpect and civility; and this ſubmiſſion continued until about the year one thouſand ſix hundred fifty-nine, when, chiefly by Gayland's contrivance, there is a great conſpiracy, raiſed by a general defection from his government; to reduce which, Benbooker is forced to raiſe a great army, and Gayland is choſen General of the forces that are raiſed to meet him, which prove to be very conſiderable, by the conjunction of ſeveral of the principal Alarbes, ſo that they join battle with Benbooker in the ſo famed fields of Alcazar; where victory declaring itſelf on the ſide of Gayland and his confederates, Benbooker was forced

forced to retreat to his own province, without being called any more to the rule of Fesſ; which kingdom, after the battle, came to be cantoniſed among the principal of thoſe that joined to expel Benbooker, ſo that the city of Fesſ, and the adjoining territories, were governed by particular rulers, choſen from time to time for that purpoſe; and unto Gayland fell the places under his government, near Arzilla and Alcazar; but Tetuan holding out for themſelves, and the Caſtle of Sallee being kept by Ben Abdala, one of Benbooker's ſons, occaſioned many years war between Gayland and theſe places: but much upon the time that his Majeſty of Great Britain came poſſeſſed of Tangier, Tetuan, by ſome kind of capitulation, yielded unto Gayland's power, yet ſo that he never entered the city; then followed his ſucceſſes againſt the Engliſh in the fields of Tangier, but more eſpecially in the loſs that fell with the Earl of Tiviott's perſon, who, being a man greatly dreaded by the Moors, gave, by his death, ſo much reputation to Gayland's arms, that he ſoon after became maſter of the caſtle of Sallee; and then ſo well increaſed his glory, that he ſtood fair to have his dominions extended over the kingdoms both of Fesſ and Morocco; but at this time, which was about the year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-four, we left the preſent King Taffaletta retiring from the victory gained over his brother into the province of Botoya; where firſt, by open force, he aſſaults the Prince of Bozema, a little principality in the ſaid province, that lies about twenty-eight leagues within the Streights, and borders upon the Mediterranean Sea; but, not being able to compaſs his deſigns with arms, agrees to marry the Prince of Bozema's daughter; and entering his caſtle, under ſhew of friendſhip and alliance, he reduceth both to his power; and under pretence that he wanted the grave advice

of his father in-law, carries him in effect a priſoner (though with great ſhew of kindneſs) from his own territories towards Feſs, where he had laid his deſigns ſo well, that, concealing the forces he had at ſome diſtance from the city, he is ſuffered in the night to enter the ſame with three or four followers, and the next day makes ſo conſiderable a party, as the reſt of his forces are peaceably received, and by a common conſent he is admitted to the ſupreme rule and government; but his new dominion giving great jealouſy to Gayland, and other leſſer perſons that had ſhared the kingdom, cauſes them all to join, and making an army of near ſixty thouſand, which Gayland is choſen to command, they march towards Feſs, in queſt of Taffaletta; but this expedition happened in the heat of their harveſt, and beſides at a time of their moſt ſolemn devotions. After a few days march, hearing nothing of Taffaletta, the great men propoſe a diſbanding of the army until after harveſt; which Gayland conſents to, upon ſolemn promiſe of their appearing again on a prefixed and appointed day: and thus (whether by treachery or by chance is uncertain) it happened that Gayland was left with a bare guard of five hundred men, which being known to a party of Taffaletta's army that was got within half a day's march of his camp, they ſet upon him with much ſpeed, and defeat the whole party. Gayland himſelf, though valiantly fighting, had not eſcaped but by the ſpeed of his horſe, and protection of his defenſive arms. He is purſued almoſt to the very walls of Arzilla; but after this fell ſo much in reputation, as never again to be able to make any conſiderable head, the great Alarbes making reſpectively under-hand their peace with Taffaletta, ſo that Gayland, wholly forſaken, had no better game to play, than to conclude a truce with the Engliſh; which he

did about the end of the year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five, and this preſerved him for ſome longer time; and had his Majeſty's affairs permitted the giving him ſome better aſſiſtance, it is not unlikely there might have been good uſe made of the conjunction, at leaſt to the gaining of Arzilla and Sallee, places, though in themſelves not worth keeping, yet ſuch as might have been worth the acceptance, upon the bare conſideration of deſtroying and ruining their reſpective harbours, where pirates have continually uſed to neſt themſelves, and in ſmaller veſſels greatly to annoy the trade of Chriſtendom; but this being on the one hand neglected, and on the other the Engliſh bound up by the treaty, ſo that they could not forſake Gayland in honour, nor Taffaletta brought, without this, to a treaty of peace, the occaſion was loſt, without any great uſe made thereof to the advantage of the public intereſt; and after ſome little time, Gayland was forced to abandon all, and fly, with his wives and what he had, to Algiers, leaving Arzilla, and the whole country, without any reſiſtance, ſubjected unto Taffeletta's power, who ſoon became abſolute maſter of Tetuan and Sallee: and, to preſerve them in the better obedience, diſarms the whole country ſo abſolutely, as only to allow one knife among three men, placing about Tangier, and the other Chriſtian garriſons, ſuch guards as he thought ſufficient for the ſecurity of the adjoining territories; and having by the ſword cut off all that were of power to do him prejudice in theſe his new acquested dominions, and by this means ſettled himſelf without any ſudden apprehenſions of danger, he bethinks of ſecuring himſelf from thoſe remoter provinces, whence aid was wont to be called by theſe people, upon any new deſigns they had. And, firſt, that he might be ſafe from his own nephews,

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that ruled in Taffaletta, he marches thither with a ſtrong army; but the young King finding himſelf much too weak to make any conſiderable reſiſtance, upon the firſt news of Taffaletta's intentions, abandons his city and province, and flies privately with his brothers to a deſert country, far South and remote, thinking there, without danger, to live ſheltered from their uncle's knowledge and purſuit; but Taffaletta, finding the country naked, and wholly ſubjected to his will, and himſelf diſappointed in the hopes of poſſeſſing the Princes that might be competitors in his power, makes the beſt inquiry of the ways they had taken, and goes himſelf in ſearch of them, with a ſelect party of five hundred horſe, choſen out of a race they have in thoſe parts, which can live without water three or four days; and yet in their march he is ſaid, from the neceſſities of the country, and the exceſſive heats, to loſe one-half of the horſe and men that followed: however, in the end, had the fortune to poſſeſs himſelf of his nephews, who were ſeized upon, as they were ſecurely diverting themſelves with ſuch innocent ſports as they found to paſs the time in thoſe retired parts. The Princes were at firſt under great diſturbance of mind, as expecting nothing leſs than to be ſacrificed to the anger of their uncle; but he comforted them with great profeſſions of kindneſs, and that he intended to ſettle them in an equipage ſuitable to their greatneſs and quality; and thus leaving them to follow him with eaſy journies to Feſs, he himſelf retires thither with greater ſpeed, where he had not been long, but a certain number of black ſlaves deſire to be admitted to his preſence, as bringers of ſuch news as might deſerve a conſiderable recompence. Theſe ſlaves tell the King, "That his nephews lodging, in their way to Feſs, at a ſmall village, were by themſelves ſurpriſed, and killed in the night, out of

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their exceſſive zeal to his Majeſty's ſervice; who, by this means, was made ſecure from all fears he might have had from their intereſt and title." But the King, inſtead of ſeeming ſatisfied as the ſlaves expected, brake out into bitter paſſion, and exceedingly proteſted his innocency, and how far it was from his intentions to have offered violence to the blood of his near relations; and that, ſince it was impoſſible to recal them from the dead, he would do them all the right that was in his capacity or power; and, therefore, not only commands their more honourable burial, but the execution of every one of thoſe that were any ways found guilty or aſſiſting in the death of the princes, and fixes their bodies on a gallows raiſed and to be ſeen from the walls of Feſs; and thus by his exemplary juſtice had on the one hand, and by the ſuſpicions men have on the other, that without ſome under-hand order none durſt have attempted the lives of the young princes, the King hath left it doubtful to the world how far he might be guilty or innocent, in an action of ſo much blood and injuſtice. However, being now free from all ſtorms, but what had formerly and might again gather out of the province of Zauya, he bends his arms that way, where old Benbooker ruled in great authority, aged now about ninety years, and was by his ſons and relations able to put into the field a force conſiderable enough to bid the King battle. The two armies being drawn up near one the other, but ſo as it was not eaſy to force the King to fight, he ordered matters in his camp, by putting another man into his royal dreſs, ſo as to repreſent his particular perſon in the midſt of his uſual guard, placed conſpicuous, and plainly to be ſeen by the enemy's army; and then he gives command, that all ſhould continue in that order, without being forced to any further engagement, whilſt himſelf, with

a ſelect number, fetching a little compaſs, paſſes undiſcovered to the city of Zauya, which they eaſily ſurpriſe and poſſeſs, as little guarded, upon the ſecurity Benbooker had in his own army, which he knew was between him and the King's forces. But Taffaletta, without loſing any time, carries aged Benbooker, with his grand-children, their wives and other relations, that he found in Zauya, back to his own camp, from whence he gives intelligence to the enemy, how the city of Zauya, with Benbooker's perſon, was in his power and cuſtody; which ſtruck ſo great a fear and ſurpriſe in their army, that ſome ſubmitting, and the reſt ſtealing away, without one ſtroke given, Taffaletta becomes maſter of the whole province; where ſettling affairs to his liking, that he might be ſecure from all future diſturbances from Benbooker, or any of his kindred, he ſends them all away unto a country far remote and unknown, as the King himſelf gives out; but, as moſt conjecture, to their reſpective graves, by ſome private execution committed on them in the deſerts; for it is certain that nothing hath been heard of them ſince that time, and that none of Benbooker's family eſcaped the vengeance, excepting his ſon that was Governor of Sallee, who is ſaid to have got away, with his wife and children, and to live retired at this day in ſome part of Egypt, upon a conſiderable ſtock of goods and money that he carried with him. And now the King, having reduced the whole dominion of Feſs, and being maſter of a conſiderable province in that of Morocco, moves his arms towards the capital city, with deſigns of bringing alſo this whole kingdom to his obedience, where the government had been ſo uncertain, as the affairs thereof ſeem to merit ſome kind of obſervation. The Alarbes of this country are much more unſettled, and leſs polished, than thoſe of Feſs; and have, from their power and

intereſt, continually given great diſturbance to the Kings of Morocco, who in the end found it their beſt policy to beget an intereſt in the chief of theſe Alarbes, by marrying with their daughters: and this had been practiſed by the Kings for ſo long a time as in the end to become a kind of ſtate maxim. Accordingly, Muley el Abas, King of Morocco, took to wife the daughter of a great Alarbe, unto whom was near allied one Guerum el Ayax; who by this means having conſiderable acceſs unto the King's perſon, by his ingenuity wrought himſelf greatly into the management of the public affairs, and falling at laſt in love with one of the King's wives, who gave ear to his paſſion, they both conſpire the King's death, and effect it by inviting his Majeſty to a banquet, which Guerum el Ayax had prepared to be the ſcene of his bloody purpoſe, and there, under ſhew of mirth and kindneſs, the King is barbarouſly murdered. After which, Guerum (who was before in the management of affairs) found his authority ſo conſiderable, as not only to aſcend to the bed, but to the throne of his maſter, and without any kind of diſturbance eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the government, and ruled the ſame under the title of Supreme Lord or King, without any rebellion or commotion all his time, notwithſtanding his unhappy predeceſſor left behind him two young ſons that were lawful heirs to his crown and dignity. After ten or eleven years reign in peace, the uſurper dies, in the ſtrength of his age, and felicity of his government, and was with great and pompous obſequies laid in the burying-place of the Kings of Morocco, being generally eſteemed a man of much craft and cunning, and who preſerved himſelf merely from his policy and wiſdom, bequeathing, upon his death, his ſceptre and dominions to his ſon, named Sydy ben Guerum, which ſignifies the ſon of Guerum,

who had ſcarce reigned as many months as his father had done years, when he is neceſſitated to get together all the forces he could make to oppoſe Taffaletta; but being, before the armies met, deſerted by the greateſt part of thoſe that followed him, and betrayed, as is ſaid, by his domeſtic ſervants, Taffaletta ſurpriſeth him in his own tent, into which he enters ſingle; and there, finding him alone, upbraids him in the bittereſt manner with all the villainies of his father; and ſeeing him ſtand aſtoniſhed, and full of fear, without ſo much as offering to put hands to his ſword which lay by him, objects farther his cowardice and meanneſs of ſpirit, as infinitely below the character he had; and therefore, as a perſon only fit paſſively to ſuffer, in a ſcornful way commands him to expoſe his head to the ſtroke of his vengeance, which, being offered without the leaſt reſiſtance, is ſevered from the body by Taffaletta's immediate arm and ſcymitar, the uſual inſtruments both of his wrath and juſtice. After this, the King, without any kind of reſiſtance, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the city of Morocco and the whole kingdom, where he preſently doth this act of honour and juſtice, to inquire for the two ſons of the murdered Prince, who had been preſerved by a kind of miracle; and allots unto them an equipage, in ſome proportion ſuited to their birth and dignity; afterwards takes from the royal ſepulchre the dead body of the late uſurper, which was preſerved entire by the exceeding ſkill they have in embalming, and, cauſing the ſons of the murdered King to trample upon and ſtab the ſame, had it afterwards burnt with all the reproaches that could be caſt upon his faithleſs head, that had been author of ſo great a villainy and treaſon. Taffaletta alſo commands the body of the King, which was obſcurely buried, to be taken up, and laid in the ſepulchre which was prepared for the ſaid Guerum

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el Ayax: and ſince, purſuing his victorious arms, he hath ſubdued Santa Crux, and as much of the kingdom of Suſs as he holds worth his conqueſt; and for ſome time, in great quiet, hath been enjoying himſelf at Feſs, where of late he uſually keeps his Court, building there a ſtately palace for his royal manſion, and beautifying beſides the reſt of the city with ſuch new houſes and ſtructures, as, if this continues for ſome years, it is thought that Feſs will ſurpaſs the renown ſhe had in former times, and become again one of the greateſt and faireſt cities that is any where extant. And indeed the King doth in all his actions appear to be a Prince of high thoughts, that is, certainly both valiant and wiſe; and though, from the much blood he hath ſpilt, muſt paſs for cruel, yet the moſt knowing among the natives do excuſe this, as not proceeding ſo much from his nature, as the neceſſity of his affairs, and the temper of thoſe he hath to govern, who are in themſelves ſo inconſtant and changing, as not to be ſafely guided by any milder rule or diſcipline; and upbraiding them with this their accuſtomed levity, the King is often heard to ſay, "That he abhors nothing more than the love of his ſubjects, who are in their natures ſo fickle and void of honour, as only capable of ſubjection from a ſervile and baſe fear." He is a great affecter of juſtice, which appears as well in ſome more public actions before related, as in ſeveral particulars of private concernments which are daily ſpoken of and told; ſo that a poor Chriſtian captive, if he can bring a juſt complaint to the King's ear, is always relieved, and many times revenged by the death of his oppreſſor. And, beſides, he is exceedingly ſevere in the puniſhment of vice, eſpecially that of ſodomy, which, though common in the country, is by him ſo much abhorred, that he is ſaid, with his own hands, to execute juſtice upon the head of his

his offending ſon. He is abſolutely without favourite, which makes all come trembling to his preſence, as uncertain poſſeſſors of that life which only depends upon the King's good will and pleaſure. Much of the buſineſs of his Empire is done by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of a Secretary, whom he cauſeth continually to toil and labour in the ſervice. He keeps a conſtant army of about twenty thouſand horſe, which is for the guard of his perſon, and the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of all commotions that may any where ariſe. He has beſides about five thouſand foot, conſiſting of blacks and others, depending merely upon himſelf, and keeps all theſe under a regular and well-aſcertained pay, which is a method new, and not before practiſed in theſe parts of Africa. There is no Chriſtian nation that the King is ſo kind to as the Engliſh, which he ſhews in the good uſage expreſſed to the ſlaves and captives of our country; and ſeems now to be ſeated beyond all power of oppoſition in the full enjoyments of his conqueſt, without other mortifications than what happens to him from the ſtroke of heaven, in the taking away his male children by a diſeaſe unuſual, being an iſſue of blood which burſteth from their ears; but it is not unlikely, that the conſideration of the unfortunate loſs of his own children, makes him educate with more care the forementioned ſons of the late King of Morocco, who are Princes of his kindred, as deſcended from the ſame ſuppoſed holy blood of Mahomet, and with whom it is poſſible he may deſign to marry his daughters, and to ſhare among them the two great kingdoms which he doth now ſingly poſſeſs: but it is time for me to leave this diſcourſe, and paſs again unto the affairs of Tangier.

The

The Continuation of the Story of Tangier, *under the Command of the Earl of* Peterburg, *unto the Arrival of the Earl of* Tiviot.

So many brave men, unuſed to an idle war, could not long keep themſelves within the walls of Tangier; but, paſſing about the fields in leſſer parties, had ſeveral encounters with the Moor, parting ſtill with little loſs and equal revenge: the Governor ſometimes marched with greater numbers farther into the country, but always made a ſafe retreat, where he himſelf was to head the party. Gayland at this time ſeemed ſo well inclined to peace, that he adviſed our countrymen might not paſs ſo freely into his territories. However, was continued the foreſaid ſkirmiſhing war, without any more conſiderable loſs at any one time than what befel one Baker, who was cut off with about five or ſix others, that ventured with him to a little hill, which was then too far from relief though within the preſent lines, and now commonly called Baker's Folly. But, upon the third of May following, happened a great diſaſter; for the Moors appearing not far from the walls of the place, ſeveral of the garriſon to the number of about five hundred men, led by one Lieut. Col. Fines, ran in a confuſed manner to the attack, thinking to fall in upon the enemy with the but-end of the muſket, but they were themſelves deſtroyed by much greater numbers, placed on purpoſe in ambuſh under the ſhelter of ſome vallies, that lie commodious for that ſurpriſing kind of war. This misfortune added a new grief to the ſufferings of the place, and brought ſo much fear upon the garriſon, as to keep the gates almoſt continually ſhut, emboldening the Moors by their nearer appearing, even unto the carrying

carrying cattle from under the very walls and guns of the town. The Earl of Peterburg found his preſence in England was of abſolute neceſſity, to inform his Majeſty rightly of all that paſſed, and to ſupply ſuch defects as were either not foreſeen at firſt, or could not be then remedied. Leaving the command to Col. Fitzgerald, Lieutenant-governor, he appeared at Court about the middle of ſummer, where he made a very ſhort ſtay; and though he could not in that time have thoſe ſupplies he deſired, yet was he not from this, and the ſenſe of former inconveniencies, kept from a ſecond journey, which he undertook in October following: in which his reſolution was the more commendable, as his quality and his fortune were removed from the confinement and the ſufferings at that time indiſpenſable with the government of that place; but it being known, that his Excellency, contented with the honour of conducting firſt his Majeſty's troops into Africa, was willing enough to leave the command unto another; and by the ſurrender of Dunkirk the Lord Rutterford wanting at the ſame time employment, his Majeſty was pleaſed to honour him both with the government of Tangier and the Earldom of Tiviot, ſo that his Excellency repaired to his charge in May, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-three; and my Lord Peterburg left the place the beginning of June that followed.

The Undertaking of the Mole, with ſome Obſervations thereupon.

Some time before the Earl of Tiviot was nominated Governor of Tangier, his Majeſty had conſtituted a Council peculiar for the conduct, and eſpecially for the more neceſſary concernments, of the whole affair at home, which conſiſted of

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ſome perſons of the higheſt quality, and had the honour to have his Royal Highneſs the Duke at the head thereof. Theſe Commiſſioners ſoon after, with his Majeſty's approbation, enter into a contract for making a ſufficient harbour at Tangier, by building a Mole there, undertaken to be made at a certain rate and meaſure, which gave ſome ſatisfaction unto ſome men that it might be accompliſhed; and little unto others that took the nature of the attempt into a greater conſideration, and who obſerved, that works of this kind had been uſually the labour of armies, and at no time made but by the conſumption of many years; that the Mole propoſed was in dimenſions every way greater than any other known to be built for the defence of ſhipping, and therefore to be fed with inexhauſtible quarries, not likely to be found within the walls of a town, which was all the King had at that time in Barbary; that it was twelve hundred miles diſtant from any territories of the Prince that undertook it; that all works of this nature were ſo unuſual, as ſcarce poſſibly to be ſupplied with the proper artificers or officers, knowingly ſuited to the ſuperintendency and care; and that the undertaking at Tangier had this of extraordinary and ſingular, it was the firſt ever endeavoured to be made both in a deep water and in a flowing and uncertain ſea. Beſides, it was well known, that much could not be expected from any ſkill or experience the undertakers had; a great action and a willing mind was their due praiſe, and all too that they could juſtly challenge: when to this I add, that it was in a manner the intereſt of the world to oppoſe the deſign; and that, after many years labour, it became of loſt reputation, and was not to be helped upon any propoſitions or principles of later practice, and then ſeaſonably retrieved, and on the ſudden brought

to high eſteem, by expedients never before uſed or thought on; I confeſs, upon theſe reflections, I cannot but hope the deſign will proſper, as guided by a higher power, and to an end above the reach of man's proſpect; by the ſame hand, I mean, that directed the firſt work of this kind, the Mole which Nebuchadnezzar built for reducing the city of Tyre, which ſeems to have been begun and accompliſhed upon as unlikely terms; for Tyre was at that time the moſt rich and trading city in the world, and ſo warlike *, that, it is obſerved, her very women uſed to go armed with their quivers †. It covered a ſmall iſland, that had two harbours, and was of impregnable ſituation, being diſtant ſeven hundred geometrical paces from the Continent, as Mr. Sandys, who viewed the place, does inform us; ſo that there was no coming at it but by filling up the devouring bowels of the ſea, and making dry land in the midſt of deep waters; an attempt the more unreaſonable, as it was perfectly new, and undertaken by a Prince that had neither ſeamen nor ſhips, againſt a city abounding in both, as being the unqueſtioned miſtreſs of the Ocean. It was, beſides, as Sir Walter Raleigh from others tells us, thirteen years in building by an army of men, whoſe patience would have probably been tired by the unreaſonable expectation, as their courages would have been too little for ſo great an attempt, but that we find all this time they were employed in the work of God, as is expreſſly ſet down in Scripture; for the city of Tyre became ſo eminently bad, that heathen authors obſerve her inconſtancy ‡; and that ſhe was deceitful,

* Genus intractabile bello. Virg. Æn. l. I.

† Virginibus Tyriis mos eſt geſtare pharetram. Virg. ibid.

‡ Tyrios inſtabiles. Lucan. lib. III.

and of double tongue *; but it was her pride that called down the vengeance of Heaven, because her heart was lifted up †; and she insulted over Jerusalem, because her Kings made themselves equal unto God ‡, her merchants unto Princes, and those that did traffic unto the honourable of the earth; for this she is at last brought in subjection to the Chaldean Prince, by his accomplishing a work of so much glory, that he has for it the honour to be called the servant of God; and the Prophet (who reasons the matter) tells us, the King of Babylon caused his army to do a great service against Tyre; and then perfectly describes what kind of labour that is which goes to the building a Mole, such as makes every man's head bald §, and every shoulder bare, and the pains whereof God thought fit to reward with the riches of the land of Egypt. Now, if the method of Divine Providence be usually to punish one people by another, and often by means that cannot enter into the heart of man; why is not the uncouth work of building a Mole in Africa by a Northern Prince likely to prove this unexpected scourge, made (it is possible) to curb the faithless heads of the men of Algiers and the adjoining territories, whose ancestors were perfidious to a proverb, and who have continued long and unpunished in the vices and the sins of their fathers? Or may not the sins of Barbary be ripe for punishment, whose subjects have dyed their hands so often in the royal blood, and afterwards maintained their conquests by an abominable hypocrisy and shew of saintship imposed upon the credulous multitude?

* Tyriosque bilingues. Virg. Æn. lib. I.

† Ezekiel, ch. xxvi. and xxviii.

‡ Isaiah, ch. xxii.

§ Ezekiel, c. xxix. ver. 18, 19, 20.

But I fear I have been to blame for inſiſting ſo largely upon this ſubject. I ſhall therefore haſte to a digreſſion, that may be more pardonable in me, concerning the nature of Moles, and the way of their building.

A Diſcourſe of the Nature of Moles, and the Way of their Building.

Mole, in Italian, ſignifies a great heap, from the Latin word *Moles:* and becauſe ſtructures made for to break, or intercept the force of the ſea, are nothing elſe but great and uſually confuſed heaps of ſtone, and theſe more frequent in Italy than in other parts; by a kind of propriety of ſpeech, a Mole now generally ſignifies ſuch a work, the uſe of it being by art to ſupply the defects of nature; and, by making land into the ſea, to gain, within the ſhelter of it, a ſecure ſtation for ſhips in places where they would be otherwiſe expoſed to the violence and rage of that unruly element; a Mole being the very ſame thing which we uſually call a Pier, and in ſome places a Cob. Theſe are either made upon dry land, at the ebb of the tide; and ſuch are all the piers built in the north part of the world, and have within them uſually no more of water than what the ſea flows; or otherwiſe, where the ſea hath no regular motion, they are built into ſuch depth of water as may float ſhips; and of this kind are all Moles built in the Mediterranean, unleſs we reckon the Mole at Tangier to be within the Streights, which is the only, and the firſt, that ever was built in deep water, and where there runs a ſtrong tide. The moſt ancient work of this nature is that before-mentioned, built by Nebuchadnezzar, not for making a harbour, but for joining Tyre to the Continent. We have nothing given of

the manner and way that was uſed to do it; nor is the work itſelf, in plain terms, mentioned by any ancient author that I have met with; but our learned countryman Sir Walter Raleigh ſets it down poſitively *, and Mr. Sandys ſeems to follow him, chiefly, I ſuppoſe, from the reaſon of the thing, becauſe it cannot well be imagined how the city of Tyre could be otherwiſe reduced, and reduced we are ſure it was. Beſides that, the text ſpeaks it to be accompliſhed by the backs and ſhoulders of an army, which denotes a work of labour more than of war. Add to this, that the Chaldean had no fleet; and that Alexander, who for the ſame end began the ſame work about two hundred and ſeventy years afterwards, although he was at ſea more powerful than was the Tyrian, yet could not take the city but by making ſuch a Mole; in the deſcription of which, Curtius is thus far particular as to tell us, that it was built with great trees, caſt into the ſea with their branches on, and afterwards ſunk by the weight of ſtones in which they were buried: but the moſt convincing argument, to ſhew that the work was begun by Nebuchadnezzar, is, the ſhort time of ſeven months, in which Alexander is related to perfect the ſame; time inſufficient to anſwer the vaſtneſs of the firſt work, admitting as many men employed as could be poſſibly diſpoſed by any regularity or order; and ſince no truth is more obviouſly plain than that the rage of the ſea cannot diſturb the ſmalleſt ſtone that is placed under the reach of its waves, and that this doth not extend to a depth in any proportion equal to that into which this work is ſaid to be laid, I muſt perfectly agree with the foreſaid learned gentleman, that the reaſon of Alexander's expedition came from the cauſe of working upon the foundation which Nebuchadnezzar

* Hiſtory of the World, lib. II. chap. xxviii. p. 6.

firſt

firſt had made, and this ſaved much as to the dilatory and tedious part; but I muſt differ from the ſaid gentleman, in that he placeth the difficult part of the work in the deep water, which is a common error; for, moſt certainly, the more troubleſome and difficult part was that which remained for Alexander to do, in making his work reſiſt the greater oppoſition off the ſea; and this is chiefly from the edge of the water, and a little above it. The next Mole we meet with is at large deſcribed by Joſephus *, that which Herod built at Cæſaria, not far from Joppa, in the bottom of the Streights, which was twelve years in doing, and appears to have been a glorious ſtructure; for it contained cellars and other magazines for the reception of merchandiſe, and it ſeems to have been built circular, which is without queſtion the beſt figure to reſiſt the force of the ſea, and had, according to modern practice, half of the fabric, which was two hundred feet broad, merely made as a break-water to defend the inward work. The foundation is ſaid to be laid in about the depth of twelve fathoms, and made of ſtones of five hundred tons in magnitude; but the hiſtorian is ſilent as to the way and engines they uſed for placing ſo great ſtones, which I think not poſſible to be done by any kind of profitable labour, unleſs theſe were artificially made, and placed in caſes, after the practice of Genoa, againſt which I have ſome objections beſides the ſilence of the ſtory, which gives no account of this, though very particular as to the work itſelf. But Pliny does more exactly deſcribe the way uſed in building the Mole † which is at this day to be ſeen at Oſtia in Italy; for he ſays, they brought great ſtones in a great ſhip, and caſting them, in a confuſed manner, one upon the

* Antiq. Judaic. lib. XV. ch. 13.

† Lib. VI. epiſt. 31.

other,

other, they remained firm by their own weight, ſo that at laſt its rocky back appeared above water, and received and diſperſed, with great noiſe, the ſeveral ſeas that beat upon it; and that, for the better ſtrengthening the work, piles were added to the ſtones; ſo that in proceſs of time the whole ſeemed no other than a little iſland riſing out of the ſea; and, doubtleſs, after this manner are built moſt of the Moles in the Streights; but generally in Holland, and where they want great quarries, the piers are made of wood, by driving piles into the foundation; and binding theſe very firmly by croſs pieces of timber, they afterwards plank the ſame ſo cloſe, that the ſmall ſtones, with which the vacancies are filled, cannot be ſucked out by the ſea. Of this kind are the piers of Dover and Yarmouth; and theſe are uſually from forty to ſixty feet in the foundations, and brought up tallying on both ſides, until about twenty or twenty-four feet at the top, and are commonly ſix or ten feet in height above high-water mark. In ſeveral parts of England, theſe piers are made all of looſe ſtones; in ſome places brought by water, by buoying up the ſtones with great tons, and this is commonly uſed in the Weſt of England; and by the help of the tide, for at low water they place a ground chain at the bottom of ſuch rock as they intend to carry, and paſſing one link of the chain into another, ſecure the ſame from getting out, by a hook fixed to the bottom of an iron, which is in height ſufficient to have the top-part above water, ſo that, being knocked upon by a hammer, it may unlink at pleaſure; for unto the foreſaid ground chain, by hooks, is faſtened ſeveral other chains, which go about the tons, by which they buoy up the ſtone upon the flood; and then the ſame is, by a rowing boat, and help of the tide, floated to the ſide of the pier that is building, and there let fall, by

beating

beating out the hook which holds together the ground chain, upon which the whole weight does depend; then, at the ebb of the tide, they raiſe the ſame upon the work that is in building, by ſome common engine, as a crane, crab, or triangles; and theſe ſtones are rudely placed one upon the other, and ſecure themſelves by their own weight, ſuch piers being commonly, after the dimenſion of the other before-mentioned, made with plank and timber. In ſome places they bring the ſtone in barges and veſſels prepared for that purpoſe; but it is to be noted, that all carriages by ſea will be very ſlow and unſafe, unleſs the ſtone be got in places of commodious acceſs, and where in ſummer the weather is ſo certain as to be depended upon. At a pier built near Whitby in Yorkſhire (which was the firſt that gave me any inſight into this ſort of work) all the ſtone was carried by land, drawn by oxen and horſes; and in building this pier, was experienced ſeveral inventions to make it ſecure; for, being expoſed to a violent ſea, which beat upon the ſide all the length, for about two hundred yards, it could not ſtand after the common way of building, merely with looſe rocks, heaped the one upon the other; nor yet, when the ſame was repaired, and ſtrongly bound with great pieces of wood, let into the foundation, and croſs bound with others, let into the ſtone, and bolted with iron, ſo that the whole ſeemed one entire work; yet the ſtorms at firſt ſhook and afterwards brought down the ſide of the pier, ſometimes for thirty, ſometimes for forty, and ſometimes for ſixty yards in length, which was ſoon repaired, becauſe the ſtone, being hard, did ſuffer little by the fall; and in labours of this nature, the charge is not conſiderable in the repairing part, but in the bringing together ſuch a maſſy heap of ſtones. After ſeveral expedients, which were reaſonably applied, and yet with no

other

other ſucceſs than to preſerve the work a trial or two extraordinary. I happened to obſerve, that a ſmall tree (which was ſet up as a mark for ſhipping) ſtood the ſame ſeas that laid level the body of a work ſo maſſy as is before deſcribed: and concluding that this came becauſe the ſea had a free paſſage about the tree; and that it muſt, however, break as much of the wave as the breadth of its own body; I thought, although theſe could not ſtand if contiguouſly ſet, yet they might if placed at a diſtance, and then, being ſet in ſeveral rows before the work, might be ſo ordered, as at a very inconſiderable charge every where to intercept, and by conſequence to abate, the weight of the ſeas; and this hath proved an experiment of ſuch uſe as ever ſince to ſecure that work, being the firſt, I think, and the only, where trees were placed barely by their own bodies, as water-breakers, for protection of a work of this nature. This experiment gave me alſo ſuch inſight into the myſtery of the affair, as to underſtand that weighty ſeas were to be intercepted at twice, and beſt at firſt by bodies diſjointed, where the waves might ſpend themſelves in the intervals, and then by a contiguous work; and it gave me farther the conſideration of thoſe notions which I have ſince practiſed at Tangier with great ſucceſs: and it is certain, that in deep water, and where ſeas fall with great weight, no body (in reaſonable ſpeaking) that is contiguous, can be made of ſufficient ſtrength; for the thickneſs of the wall is of ſmall conſideration, becauſe the ſea will firſt ſhake, then looſen the outſtones, and afterwards fetch down the upright wall little by little; and therefore, at Genoa, though the Mole be made of maſſy hard ſtones, and theſe all laid in lime and tarrace, ſo that it ſeems an entire rock, near twenty yards thick, yet is it found of inſufficient ſtrength, and therefore, at ſome diſtance

from the Mole, they have raiſed a ledge of great rocks, to take off the firſt force of the ſea; and this they continually feed at conſiderable charges, by bringing new ſtone to it every year; and in other places the like is practiſed: ſo that, I believe, where any Mole or Pier ſtands without ſuch protection, either from art or nature, the ſtability does proceed, either becauſe it is not built in deep water, or that the ſituation admits the figure to be circular; or that the ſea doth beat upon the end, and not the broad ſide of the work; or that otherwiſe it happens by accident to be only expoſed to thoſe winds which in their nature bring not ſo heavy and weighty ſeas, as when the ſame comes from another point of the compaſs: for ſometime it falls out, that a work, which ſeems to the eye expoſed to an open ocean, ſhall be ſecure from all ſtorms that blow directly upon it. The philoſophical reaſon of which I cannot here examine; but content myſelf to declare, that the foreſaid work at Whitby, although it lies with the broadſide expoſed to an open north-eaſt ſea, did never receive any conſiderable damage but what came from the north-weſt, againſt which it ſeemed in a good meaſure to be land-locked and protected; ſo at Tangier, the breaks there have happened from the conſequence of a ſouth-weſt wind, although the ſame blows directly from the land; and, I believe, the ſame remarks might be made in many other places, if the obſervation were of conſequence to merit the care and the pains. What I can chiefly note of all the breaches I have ſeen is, that in a flowing ſea no ſtorm doth prejudice beyond the low-water mark, which makes the difficulty not ſo much in gaining the foundation, as in ſecuring the work about the edge of the high water; and I have known the ſtorms caſt down the inſide of a work, and leave all the ſtones ſtanding on the outſide towards the ſea,

at

at full height. And this commonly happened at the foreſaid work at Whitby, and was occaſioned by the ſea beating firſt upon the ſide of the pier brake becauſe of the reſiſtance, and afterwards, leaping over the outſide ſtones, fell with a great weight of water upon thoſe on the inſide. Now, becauſe I was not willing to be at the charge to remedy this, by making the pier ſo large that on the top thereof it might be of a breadth beyond the ſeas reaching the inſide ſtones, I made it ſo exceeding narrow, that the ſea leaped quite over, and yet fell with no more inconvenience to the harbour than ſo many drops of rain; for the force was quite broken from the firſt oppoſition had upon the main body of the pier, which was about forty-five feet in the foundation, and not above ſix at the top, in height above twenty-eight feet, the ſea uſually flowing at ſprings ſixteen feet, and in rages above twenty. Breaches of this kind, that fall inward, are of ſmall importance in dry harbours, and where, at the ebb of tide, the ſtones may be eaſily taken up and cleared; but of worſe conſequence they may be when they fall on the inſide of Moles built into deep water, becauſe of choaking up the harbour, and the difficulty in regaining afterwards the firſt depth; but where the Mole or Pier is ſo broad that the ſtorms cannot reach the inſide, then uſually the breach is from the outſide towards the ſea, and occaſioned rather from the reverſe of the waves than otherwiſe; and of this nature were the breaches that have happened to the Mole at Tangier, being leſs conſiderable as they added ſtrength to the main body of the works: and as there ſtill ſtood a part which gave the ſame protection to the harbour as if there had not happened the leaſt of damage. But I fear I have inſiſted too long upon the way of building theſe leſs conſiderable piers in the North, which are made upon dry land at the ebb of the

tide. And not being willing to give the reader the trouble of diſcourſing upon the ſeveral Moles that may be ſeen this day within the Streights, becauſe they are generally all made, as I have hinted before, merely by caſting in ſtones at random into the ſea, until ſuch time as the work appears above water; and then they build upon this foundation, either with great ſtones looſe placed, or otherwiſe cemented with lime and tarrace, which is nothing elſe than a certain ſand that, being made into mortar, hath a faculty of growing hard and ſetting in the water; I ſhall content myſelf to put a period to theſe obſervations, after I have diſcourſed upon the way uſed in building the new Mole at Genoa, and that which is now making at Tangier, becauſe both theſe differ in the practical part from all other built at any time heretofore. At Genoa they had an old Mole, built after the common practice, which afforded ſufficient ſtation for great ſhips, excepting only that there was at times ſome dangerous ſeas which fell in from the ſouth and weſt. To prevent theſe, they took into conſideration the making a Mole, which ran from an advantageous point of land, diſtant about a mile from the old work, and was to run from the north towards the ſouth about ſix hundred yards, ere it could come perfectly to ſecure it; but this being done, gained alſo under the protection a new and very capacious harbour. After ſeveral years expended in the bare conſiderations of the beſt way for making the Mole, and in preparations that were neceſſary ere it was begun, they bethought themſelves of a way that had not been uſed in any former practice, which was to lay the foundation of this work in cheſts, that is, in great caſes or frames of wood, which were to be in length the whole breadth of the Mole, and theſe they wrought ſecurely in ſummer within the protection of the harbour they had,

firſt making the wood-work. When the ſame was caulked and framed, they launch it into the deep water, and there ſecure it on float with mooring, as other veſſels uſe to be protected in harbour. Theſe cheſts are fifty-four feet in length, thirty-ſix in breadth, and eighteen deep, the ſides and ends upright, and the bottoms made flat, that they may lodge more ſteadily upon the foundation. Whilſt this cheſt remains in harbour, they build within it, with ſtone of all ſizes, well wrought with lime and tarrace, which they fetch at eaſy terms either from Rome or Naples, and thus they laid the cheſt as far as it can carry to float with ſafety unto the place where they intend to ſet it; which being about one-third filled, and wrought as aforeſaid, will become ſo deep laden as not to be more than two foot free above water. Now, becauſe the Mole is built into the depth of ten fathoms, they fill the foundation with ſtones, promiſcuouſly caſt into the ſea, until ſuch time as it is raiſed within a foot or thereabouts of the depth of water which the cheſt, thus loaden, draws; and this foundation they plane the beſt they can by men, who, diving, level as well as is neceſſary the ſtones in the bottom; and they uſe a great many ſmall chains, unto which ſtrings are tied with little balls of lead faſtened to the end, and by help of theſe, being of equal length, they make ſome judgement of the evenneſs of the foundation, and ſo plane it the better, either by adding or taking away the ſmall ſtones of which it is compoſed; and a mighty advantage they have, becauſe there is no tide; ſo that from this, and the calmneſs of the ſummer in thoſe parts, the ſeas are, during that ſeaſon, uſually without motion, and they build, as it were, in a ſtanding pool or lake; and thus, having fitted the place by help of their gallies, they tow the cheſt unto it, which being caulked, and made tight, their maſons

work

work within it, as ſafely as men lodge in that part of a ſhip which is under water. However, to avoid danger the beſt that may be, ſo ſoon as the cheſt is placed, preſſing from ſo populous a city ſo many hands as can work within it, they never leave labouring by night and by day, until the vacancy of the ſame be all filled with the like cemented matter of ſtones ſet in lime and tarrace, which is uſually done and perfected in ſix or ſeven days and nights after the placing of the cheſt, and has a ſufficient time to harden before the ſtorms of the winter; and it is to be noted, that theſe cheſts are not only a foundation under water, but in regard there runs no tide, the work is at the ſame time brought up alſo above the high water, ſo that they have no occaſion to build farther upon it than what may ſerve to break the ſwell of the ſea in time of ſtorms and rages; and this they do by continuing a wall upon the ſaid cheſts the full breadth, and all laid with ſtones, cemented, as are thoſe in the cheſt, with tarrace mortar; and this wall is raiſed above the water eighteen feet, beſides ſix feet more for the parapet, in all twenty-four feet in perpendicular height above the ſea; and yet this part of the work, which is without all queſtion the moſt expoſed, they cannot ſecure upon other terms than by raiſing before it another Mole, compoſed chiefly of great rocks from five to fifteen tons, which they commodiouſly bring, becauſe of the calmneſs of the ſeaſon, in a kind of barge, in which is fixed a wheel, and kind of crane engine, by the help of which they raiſe thoſe great ſtones. This outward Mole they keep continually repairing and feeding with ſtone, as an undoubted ſecurity to the other inward and more poliſhed work, the defects of which they alſo repair as there is occaſion for it. They many times have not been able to place above one cheſt in a year, and never above two, which makes their greateſt advance

advance in that ſpace of time no more than twenty-four yards; and for this cauſe they have employed twenty-ſix years in making their Mole, as it is at this day, about three hundred and forty yards in length; and it will yet coſt them half as much more time before it ſetures the old Mole, by being continued far enough to break the ſea from the outward point thereof; and, after all, the winds that come by accident from the mountains, frequently bring ſuch inland ſtorms and tempeſts, as will render the place incapable of ever being made a very ſecure ſtation for ſhips. Now, the Mole at Tangier, as it was begun upon the common principles uſed in building ſtone piers in England, ſo the work being made into deep water, and the whole length expoſed to an extraordinary ſea, it could neither reſiſt the force thereof, nor admit any help from the way of cheſted work uſed at Genoa; becauſe, beſides that theſe could not be wrought but in a very ſecure harbour, which was the thing wanting, and ſought for, at Tangier, ſo were they not poſſible to be made float without ſo great a vacancy as could not in ſeveral days, after the placing of the cheſt, be filled up with ſtone wrought in lime and tarrace, and yet a few hours was all the time the tide would allow for this important work and ſervice. There did alſo appear, upon a ſmall eſſay of a cheſt afterwards placed, many difficulties that could not at the firſt be foreſeen, which made it plain, how uncertain and tedious, as well as chargeable, this ſort of work would be in that place. The building in ſhips and veſſels is liable to the ſame inconveniences, ſave that they do not require to be wrought in ſo extraordinary a ſtill and quiet harbour, becauſe the figure is better ſuited to the motion of the ſea; but veſſels being ſharp on the bottom and ends, and round on the ſides, are not ſo eaſily placed and joined one to the other, as cheſts

that have the bottom flat, and the ſides upright; and if the broadſide of ſuch veſſel be expoſed to a great ſea, it will be inſufficient to receive the force; and if they be laid with their ends towards it, then will the charge be much, and the advance little, nor more gained than a bare foundation to build upon, which may be had at far eaſier terms, and in which doth not at all conſiſt the difficulty of the work; but cheſts or veſſels may be profitably wrought to make a foundation in deep water, even in places where there runs a tide, provided the ſame be embayed and protected, ſo as not to be expoſed to any great force of water; for ſuch veſſels will float with a thin wall at the bottom and the ſides, and then, admitting the tide, fill the hollow. Small ſtones may, however, be caſt into it until they come above water, and equalling the ſide wall, which may be ſufficient: though the whole is not built with cemented matter, the bottom of ſuch veſſels may be made to ſet even and upright by ſeveral expedients, as well as what I have been accuſtomed to practiſe, which was by placing timbers bilge-ways, at the bottom of each ſide of the keel, and parallel to it; and the pointed ends may be cut, and made upright, for the better joining two ſuch veſſels; or, if they be placed without any alteration, the hollows occaſioned from the conjunction of the points may be filled by ſtones caſt in at random, and which will be made as ſecure by driving in a few ſmall piles of wood.

It is to be noted, after the placing any cheſt or veſſel, it is cuſtomary to caſt down a great many looſe ſtones on each ſide, that ſo, being buried a good part in ſtone, the whole may remain more firm and unmoveable; but the conſequence was ſmall at Tangier, whether the Mole ought to be built with cheſts or otherwiſe, ſince the difficulty lay only in making the outwork, which was in all caſes concluded neceſſary for the

protection

protection of the other. And at Genoa this was eaſily done, becauſe the ſeaſon is ſuch, they can by water bring ſtones of large dimenſions; whereas at Tangier they are ſo continually agitated, as makes the bringing ſtones this way extremely hazardous, and of unprofitable labour. And then the quarries being remote, nothing could be depended upon but ſtone of ſuch ſize as might be drawn by wheel carriages, and thus could not be well brought above four or five tons in weight; but what was yet a more important difference happened from the tide; for at Genoa, where the ſea is always at the ſame height, a great ſtone placed in their out-work, ſo that only three feet appeared, did at all times ſerve as a break-water, being above the top of the ſea, and was itſelf ſecure from its own weight, and that the greateſt part of the body lay under water, and where the ſea had little power upon it; but at Tangier, where it flows above nine feet, to make ſuch a mark of equal proportion, it muſt be made at leaſt twelve feet above the water, as it would be at ſome time of tide; and to build ſuch a fabric was nothing leſs than to make a Mole, which might want itſelf the like protection that it was intended to give.

At my coming to Tangier in April, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, I found the Mole under an univerſal diſreputation, from the breaches that had happened the two preceding winters; though in truth theſe were only on the ſide next the ſea, from low-water mark upwards, and never broke through it to the hindrance of carts going thereupon: nor were theſe greater than what I had commonly known in building the foreſaid work at Whitby; from the experience of which, being ſufficiently taught how vain a thing it was to endeavour the reſiſtance of very raging and weighty ſeas, by any united body upon which it did immediately beat, though never ſo ſtrongly

bound with wood or iron, or otherwiſe better cemented by reducing the whole into one entire body compoſed of ſtone joined together with lime and tarrace, I did not at all betake myſelf to the repair of the Mole, which was only conſiderable in conſequence that the like breaches might again happen, but ſet all hands on work to diſperſe and abate the firſt force of the ſea, by ſuch expedients as by former experience I had found effectual for that purpoſe; and to this end cauſed piles of wood to be ſhod with iron, well ſteeled at the points, and, by the help of an engine commonly uſed, drove them into the foundation which the breaches had made, ſo as to leave as much of the pile above water as the tide flowed; and theſe I placed before the work, at about four feet diſtance, in three rows, the inward piles being ſet oppoſite to the vacancy of the outward; and thus they became uſeful, not only to hinder the extraordinary ſpreading of the foundation, but by their own bodies to be effectual water-breakers, by receiving and diverting, in good meaſure, the ſtrength of the waves: and becauſe it was then the general opinion, that the protection theſe piles gave would be little laſting, for that the worm does exceedingly in thoſe parts prey upon the wood, I bethought myſelf of breaking the force of the ſea upon the ſame principles by more laſting bodies, compoſed all of great ſtones from two to four tons in weight, which were ſquared and laid in tarrace, and ſtrongly bound with iron and lead ſolder. The firſt courſe of ſtone that compoſed theſe, I laid ſomething under the low-water mark, which made that part abundantly ſecure, and then I wrought them ſo high as to be three feet above the high water; and thus compoſed, they became intire ſtones or pillars of ſtone, each from ſixty to a hundred tons in magnitude, being cubical bodies from ten to twelve feet ſquare. I placed

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their points to the ſea, that it might have the leſs power upon the pillar: theſe I ſet about fifteen feet diſtance one from the other, and then made an inward row of like pillars, the points of which were placed about the middle of the vacancies of the former; ſo that the ſea had only a paſſage of three feet on each ſide, between the inward and outward pillars: and this paſſage, being oblique, abated the ſea as perfectly as if the whole work has been one contiguous interception, and were, for the ſame reaſons, as effectually againſt the reflux of the ſea which broke upon the oppoſite points of the pillars, and had the liberty to return through the ſame oblique paſſages. Theſe pillars were placed before the Mole, about twelve feet from it; and from the point of the inward pillar next the Mole, to the point of the moſt outward pillar next the ſea, is about ſixteen feet; and from this outer point to the fartheſt pile is about fifteen feet more, and the foundation about twenty feet farther; ſo that the breadth of the whole break-water is above ſixteen feet, and the Mole itſelf near a hundred more. The out-wall next the ſea is compoſed of great ſtones, and laid in tarrace from high-water mark, about nine feet in height, and ten feet in thickneſs. On the inſide, the work is not more than two feet above high water, becauſe of a paſſage of fifteen feet broad, left for ſeamen to go and moor their ſhips to pillars of ſtone, fixed for that purpoſe; and above this, ſeven feet, is the great Mole, about eighty feet in breadth, upon which warehouſes are intended; and under theſe cellars, for the whole breadth of the Mole, unto the ſide of which great ſhips may come and unload their merchandiſe with all the eaſe imaginable. After the piles were driven, and the pillars placed, I ſecured them farther by caſting promiſcuouſly abundance of great ſtones round about; ſo that a conſiderable part was buried in ſtone, and

and by this means the ſtorms which formerly fell upon, and beat over, the Mole with their full weight, as they do generally in all ſuch works, though they came the next winter with great violence, were ſo far from doing any harm, as very rarely to reach the ſide of that work with the ſpray of the ſea; and yet ſuch is the exceſſive force thereof, begot by continued fierce and ſouth-weſt winds, which come with rains from the great Atlantic Ocean, that, being preſſed into a narrow paſſage, they ſwell, and roll, and reſemble thoſe of the Bay of Biſcay, without breaking, but where they meet an oppoſition; and then I have ſeen them ſo furious, as, according to all judgements, beating upon the upright ſide of the Mole, they broke, and flew fifty yards in perpendicular height; and indeed this ſort of disjointed work was afterwards found to be in ſeveral reſpects exceeding advantageous and well-ſuited to the labour, eſpecially becauſe of the uncertainty of the place, and extraordinary ſoftneſs of the ſtone, which, however, gets a moſſy coat, and hardens in the water. If reduced to a weight, as theſe pillars are, beyond the agitation of the ſea, and then being made in pieces, one courſe of theſe is no more than what may be made in one tide, and ſecured with croſs bars of iron, and other cement; it happens alſo to be mighty proper in a place which is rarely free from conſiderable ſeas, that come fierce enough to prejudice the working part, from the continued Levant winds of the ſummer, though theſe bring not in ſeas of ſuch weight as thoſe that are frequent from the rains of the winter. Beſides, the work being thus made in pieces, is never likely to receive more damage than by beating down a courſe or two of theſe pillars, which will, however, leave the body of the Mole little leſs protected; and the ſtones being at hand, may be repaired at a more eaſy charge

than has been hitherto allowed to any work of this nature and magnitude: nor do I think any thing better can be thought on for the future building of ſuch works as theſe, than the practice before deſcribed, unleſs the water-breaker were made ſo large, as by a gradual interception to keep the ſea from coming at the body of the work itſelf, which is very poſſible to be done, where there is a ſufficiency of materials and hands; and doubtleſs ſuch a work might be everlaſting as the ſhore, made of the ſmalleſt ſtones; for the ſandy coaſt is nothing elſe than a Mole built by nature, with a very great tallue, and reſiſts the ſea from no other common cauſe but the gradual interception of the water; and therefore the wiſdom of God, that, by a means ſo reaſonable, tells the ſeas, "Hither they may come, and no farther," is no leſs to be admired, than his power that made the mighty fabric. And that part of the work which lies under the loweſt reflux of the ſea, being perfectly beneath the force thereof, will ſtand as upright as if the ſame was made upon dry land; and for the reſt, from low water upwards, admitting the work made of ſand, and according to the natural figure to which the ſea reduces it, the tallue or ſlope of this, which is the hypothenuſe, will be a line about nine times as long as the perpendicular from low-water mark to the higheſt rage, or top of the beating of the waves; but if the work be well piled, or compoſed of ſtones of indifferent magnitude, then the proportion in the largeſt extent need be no more than as three is to one; and after this is well ſettled by the ſea, the ſtones will certainly lodge themſelves, and become a perfect beach or coaſt, upon the top of which may be built with as much ſafety as upon the dry land, becauſe above the reach of the ſea, which will be wholly ſpent (according to nature) by the gradual interception of the water;

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nor in the practical part would I adviſe the uſe of greater ſtones than ſuch as may be eaſily moved by common engines, becauſe of the loſs of time, and ſlow progreſs the work will have, if the ſtones be above the weight of three or four tons, which are the largeſt ſize of thoſe uſed at Tangier, and are faſtened under great wheels, which for that purpoſe are made from nine to ten feet in diameter. Theſe ſtones are got in a quarry about half a mile from the Mole, out of which they are forced in leſſer quantities by ſmall mines, made after the common practice, by drilling a hole of two inches bore nine or ten feet into the ſtone, conveying into this as much powder as is judged ſufficient. The mouth is confined with plogs of wood, through which is bored a little hole, paſſing a cotton prepared with brimſtone and other combuſtible matter, to convey fire to the powder; but becauſe it is rare to bring down by ſuch mines as theſe above two or three hundred tons of ſtone, and that at Tangier there was occaſion of far greater quantities, the practice there is to have continually miners working into the main quarry ſuch a mine as is uſually made for blowing up the walls of fortified places, in which there is chiefly to be obſerved, that the turnings be made at right angles; and that the powder be lodged above the mouth or entrance of the mine, and the hole confined by filling up the mine. After the powder is placed with ſtone, and ſecuring with good ſtrong timbers the ſeveral angles that are made, I have known ten thouſand tons of ſtone brought down in one of theſe mines with thirty barrels of powder; and it is remarkable, theſe greater mines, when they do moſt execution, make no noiſe; whereas the ſmall drill mines, firſt mentioned, when ſprung, give a report equal to a piece of cannon. The quarry wrought upon at Tangier is generally ſoft; ſo that, I believe, above

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one-half is waſted ere it reaches the Mole; however, is capacious enough to make ſeveral ſuch Moles as that at preſent intended, for it is one continued rock, about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred broad, and about twenty-five or thirty yards in perpendicular height, upon a medium of the quarry: and whatever Prince ſhall hereafter undertake the like work, had need, before he begins, to be aſſured of like inexhauſtible quarries; and then an inexhauſtible patience, above the diſcourſes of mankind, which will probably be the ſame in future ages that we have found them in the preſent, and that Curtius obſerves them to have been in times that went before us; ſtill inflaming every little accident that will always happen to traverſe the practical part of a work that is of ſuch magnitude and importance. To this I can add no farther, nor better advice, than that which I find Pliny giving in the like caſe to the Emperor Trajan, that eſpecial care be had money may not be wanting, which is neceſſary to ſo great a work.

The Story continued unto the Death of the Earl of Tiviot, *and coming of the Lord* Bellaſys *to* Tangier.

The Earl of Tiviot found the common ſoldiers in Tangier much dejected, from the common cauſe of bad accidents that had happened in the loſs of their countrymen; and ſuch was the fear they harboured for the Moor, as to keep the gates almoſt continually ſhut, and few there were greatly willing to hazard themſelves out of the city walls; but his Excellency preſently ſet them open, and began to build a ſmall and near redoubt, more eſpecially to embolden the men, which he effected in a few days, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the

enemy that appeared continually in leſſer parties; and, beſides this, caſt up ſeveral lines and ditches, which he afterwards maintained, and laid the foundation of a conſiderable redoubt, called Fort Catherine, ſituate upon an eminence not above three hundred yards from Catherine Port, the gate that paſſes into the country; and this he kept againſt all the power of Gayland's army, that came to attack it about the ninth of June, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-three, although there was nothing then of this fort finiſhed, farther than the out-walls, carried up for about ten feet in height; but in this attack Gayland loſt ſo conſiderable a number of men, and had the horſe of his army ſo much galled by thoſe triangular pointed irons, called Crow's feet, with which my Lord had every where ſtrewed the fields, that Gayland became ſo well inclined to peace, as preſently to conclude a truce for ſix months, which gave his Excellency ſo much leiſure as to paſs into England, September following, where he obtained ſuch neceſſary ſupplies, and regular ſettlement of affairs, as were before wanting; Col. Fitzgerald, in my Lord's abſence, diſcharging the truſt that was repoſed in him as Lieutenant-governor of the place. About the end of Auguſt this year, were laid the firſt foundations of the Mole; the ſtones being brought in ſome ſailing-boats that were about ten tons in burden, which, though framed in England, had been above three months ſetting together on the place, becauſe of its being deſtitute of all kind of conveniencies neceſſary for an expeditious preparation; and this made it requiſite to build places for all ſorts of ſtores, warehouſes, and work-ſhops, as well as quarters for the men and horſes; but from hence followed ſo neceſſary a delay, that the larger engines of cranes in boats were many months in putting together and framing. However,

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the water being ſhallow in the beginning, and the ſtones being near, the work made ſo conſiderable a ſhew in a few months, as was very pleaſing to the Earl of Tiviot, at his return to Tangier in January following, where he found the truce he had made with Gayland renewed for two months longer by Col. Fitzgerald, who did this by common conſent, upon ſome reaſonable conjectures that my Lord's return would not be ſo ſpeedy as it proved; and the continuation of the truce was had in all reſpects upon the firſt terms made by the General himſelf, which contained a condition, preſenting Gayland with a certain gratuity, half to be given at the beginning, and the other at the expiration of the time; and in expreſs terms bound up the Engliſh from any further fortifications, than finiſhing what was begun. The Earl of Tiviot was much troubled to find the truce prolonged; for, beſides that it did oblige him to let paſs the beſt ſeaſon in the year for intrenching the ground neceſſary to ſecure the place, ſo again it was abſolutely againſt ſome later inſtructions that his Excellency brought with him from England, by which he was poſitively enjoined to make no truce or peace without a liberty to fortify. In theſe ſtraights my Lord thought the moſt honourable thing he could do, was to ſend to Gayland, to let him know, "As his Excellency ſhould at all times ſtudy to preſerve a peace and good correſpondence with him; ſo in that reſpect was very glad to find the truce continued, and all things remaining in peace and quietneſs. However, muſt acquaint him, that the clauſe which hindered fortifications was abſolutely againſt the commands he brought from the King his Maſter; and therefore, though he ſhould ſubmit unto this for the limited time, in caſe Gayland inſiſted upon it; yet, to the end there might be a ground laid for a laſting peace, propoſed he would recede from that condition,

the granting of which was incompatible with my Lord's inſtructions; but if he reſolved to inſiſt upon it, in regard this put an end to all hopes of future amity, that he would pleaſe to accept the remaining part of the gratuity, and let the war immediately begin, ſince longer than a few weeks it could not be delayed." To this meſſage Gayland returned anſwer, "That the giving leave for Chriſtians to fortify in their country was abſolutely againſt their law, and could never be conſented to by the Moor; that they looked upon the peace as merely advantageous to the Engliſh, and not unto themſelves; and therefore, if the remaining part of the preſent was firſt paid, ſhould very readily conſent to my Lord's deſire of war, as what they did not think either for their intereſt or honour to refuſe, and was in itſelf a propoſition the Moors did not uſually receive from Chriſtians." Upon this followed the punctual payment of all that was agreed upon the treaty, and the enſuing war; which I mention as what I know to be true, having myſelf been employed in theſe tranſactions, and chooſe to relate all with more particularity, becauſe I would not have any thing unjuſtly caſt upon the memory of ſo brave a man by reflecting ſpeeches, as if my Lord had not proceeded fairly in the diſſolution of the foreſaid truce, which Col. Fitzgerald had concluded for two months. In a few weeks afterwards, in ſpite of all oppoſition, my Lord Tiviot raiſed thoſe forts which at this day ſecure the fartheſt bounds of our Engliſh territories, and what may defend about three hundred acres of land, and was continually ſucceſsful in all attempts had againſt the Moor, before that fatal third of May which next followed, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-four, when his Excellency marching into a wood, near two miles diſtant from Tangier, with about five hundred choice men, and the principal

cipal officers in the garriſon, they were all deſtroyed by Gayland's army, which accidentally (as is conjectured) happened to lodge themſelves in that place but a few hours before their coming; and this is believed, becauſe moſt certainly in the night my Lord cauſed ſeveral ſpies to paſs up and down thoſe woods; who returned with this aſſurance, "That they neither heard noiſe, nor made any other diſcovery that might denote an enemy's being there." Beſides the foreſaid party, which was all foot, the General had ordered about one hundred horſe, as a guard unto the rear; but theſe, upon the appearance of far greater numbers which they could not reſiſt, retreated ſafe within the lines, by the conduct of Sir Tobias Bridges, excepting about ſix of them that pricked their horſes with more heat towards the point of land, where was placed the rear of my Lord Tiviot's party; and theſe few horſe were ſo happy in their aſſiſtance, as from the little check they put upon the enemy, to make more eaſy the eſcape of near a hundred of our countrymen; and from hence ſome conclude, had the whole body of horſe followed to the ſame point of land, many more of the Engliſh had ſaved themſelves; but as this is ſaid to have been againſt the inſtructions of the General, ſo it is certain, they could have contributed nothing to the ſecurity of his own perſon, or thoſe that were with him, becauſe they were engaged far in the wood, and in paſſages that are not acceſſible by horſes. Some ſay the occaſion of this unhappy march into the Moor's country was from the defect of lime and other materials, which put a ſtop to the fortifications; and that the General, wanting employment, pitched upon this, as one that hated to have the ſoldier idle; others think it was intended to ſupply the want of fuel, by cutting down thoſe woods, as alſo to diſappoint the enemy at the ſame time, by thus clearing the places of

their uſual ambuſh: ſome ſay my Lord deſigned this expedition to take away the ſuperſtitious fear which our men had conceived, becauſe of the anniverſary day that had been formerly fatal, by deſtruction of conſiderable numbers of our men. It is unhappy that we have nothing of better reaſon left to juſtify ſo unſucceſsful a proceeding; the cauſes given not being of weight to excuſe the ſeeming precipitation of the action, which was unfortunate to the glory of ſo great a man, that freed Tangier from being a perfect priſon, and to whom ſhe owes at this day all the refreſhment of the adjoining fields; that reſtored the courage of the ſoldier, that was become drooping enough; and in a few months made them as great a dread unto the Moor, as not long before theſe had been a terror to themſelves. But the place had, in the General's death, a loſs almoſt irreparable; for, conſidering he was a man of indefatigable induſtry and labour, and had by his ſucceſsful proceedings got a mighty eſteem and reputation in the country; and that in truth he was a great Captain, even among the greateſt of the age in which he lived; it may well be preſumed, had his life been ſpared a few years longer, Tangier would not at this day have wanted a circumference of land perfectly ſecured, and in ſufficiency at leaſt to the being of the place, and would have been beſides in great meaſure free from the ſtrokes and wounds which called afterwards in queſtion the very keeping of the place, from arguments and reaſons that were only heard becauſe of its misfortunes. Sir Tobias Bridges was choſen, after my Lord's loſs, to the chief command, and kept the poſſeſſion of all the outworks, which the Moors (notwithſtanding their ſucceſs) had not ſo much as courage to attempt; but preſently after the news of what had happened reached England, Col. Fitzgerald, being then there, was diſpatched to his charge,

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with money and recruits neceſſary; who employed his time in perfecting the works that were not finiſhed, and in making others that were deſigned; in repairing the fountains and quarters, and doing other works that were for the public good of the place; his power continuing but a few months, becauſe of my Lord Bellaſys's arrival the following April, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five, who commanded all under the ſame character that had been given to the preceding Governors of the place.

An Account of what paſſed under the Government of my Lord Bellaſys, *and unto the coming of the Earl of* Middleton.

My Lord Bellaſys arrived at Tangier about the beginning of the year that was ſo mortal, becauſe of the plague, at London; and ſo active, becauſe of the heat of the war with Holland; the advantages found by our poſſeſſion of Tangier being from theſe cauſes well explained, upon ſeveral occaſions that after offered: for all manner of foreign commerce being at that time denied unto England, becauſe of the public calamity; our merchants did, however, by the help of Tangier, vent in the near parts of Spain as much of our own commodities as in any preceding year; and this only to the advantage of our own market for the preſent. But, by thus continuing the trade, we hindered the Dutch from thoſe endeavours, which, when they are once inured unto, by daily experience we find can ſcarce again be got out of their hand; and the place alſo put theſe our enemies to a great charge in attending it with about twenty ſail of men of war, which ſpent their time to ſo little purpoſe all the ſummer, as not to be able to hinder the daily coming of boats that paſſed to and from the place. The Mole

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was at this time under a great diſreputation from the little progreſs, partly occaſioned from the loſs of the Earl of Tiviot, whereby the work was ſo far from the daily aſſiſtance of men allowed out of the garriſon, that many of thoſe hired to this ſervice were taken for the neceſſary defence of the place, as alſo the ſtone boats frequently diverted in their labours upon other neceſſary occaſions of the garriſon; but that which gave the greateſt diſcouragement, was the continual uncertainty of weather, ſuch as made uſeleſs the cranes and wheel engines that had been long in ſetting up and placing in boats built for that purpoſe; and indeed, after ſeveral experiments of greater veſſels, made with all the art and dexterity imaginable, it was at laſt found, that not only the advance of work that could be expected from theſe, but whatever elſe was propoſed to be done in leſſer boats, and in themſelves more applicable, as all manner of carrying ſtones by water, would prove ſo tedious and chargeable, as not to be compatible with the public expectation, the conſideration of which put in uſe the bringing ſtones by land, after the practice had in other parts; and though it coſt ſome difficulty to make the way paſſable, and in other neceſſary preparations, yet theſe were overcome ſo timely as to retrieve the reputation of the work, which grew the more by the noiſe and advantage had from a battery made this ſummer upon it by the Governor's command, and which proved ſo uſeful as to ſecure all ſhips that came under this protection. There was at this time, at the quarries, built a ſquare work, made as well for the protection of the men in their labours, as for their more convenient abode; but this being much ſhort of what was neceſſary, and the more from what the increaſe of horſe might occaſion, received that ſummer a conſiderable addition, which hath been ſince ſo well improved, that I think few places there

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are more compact, or where leſs ground is loſt, that could any ways have been profitably employed for the public ſervice, being ſcarce a ſquare of thirty yards. It contains in the middle a handſome court yard, with a fair ſmith's ſhop, and others of equal uſe, with ſtables for ninety horſe; cellars and magazines for all neceſſary ſtores for twelve months, beſides quarters for ſeveral officers and others that have here their families. It will lodge about two hundred daily labourers and workmen, having the reſemblance of a ſmall city or commonwealth, where every thing is in little. The whole bears the name of Whitby, ſo called by ſeveral workmen that came at firſt to this place from Whitby in Yorkſhire.

My Lord Bellaſys had not been long at Tangier, without putting the iſſues had from the King's ſtores into more exact method than what was formerly practiſed, and regulated what he found amiſs about the hoſpital. He added ſomething of fortification, for ſecuring the caſtle towards the land in the places where weakeſt and moſt expoſed. His Excellency overcame alſo the difficulties about erecting a court of public juſtice, which gave ſome reputation, and put a civil face upon affairs; and this court did ſo well comprehend all ſort of intereſt, as it ſeemed in the conſtitution to be juſtly ſuited to the intended purpoſe, at leaſt for the preſent time; and conſidering all great changes are beſt gradually had, and ought to paſs as much as may be to a general ſatisfaction. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, there fell out an accident of good advantage to the place itſelf: five Algerines had taken from the Spaniard a ſhip of great value, coming from the Weſt Indies. In paſſing the Streights, they happened to be purſued by the Dutch fleet; and though theſe Algerines made ſhift to eſcape themſelves,

ſelves, with all the plate and captives taken, yet the prize they were forced to run under the protection of the foreſaid battery on the Mole. The ſhip was preſently deſerted by the Algerines, who, recommending the care of the cargo to the Governor, went themſelves by land to their own country. Now, for the better ſecuring of ſo rich a prize, it was found convenient to bring the ſame farther into the harbour; in the doing which, the ſhip was ſo run aground, as to be in no capacity of going more to ſea, from which cauſe there was a neceſſity of putting the lading on ſhore; in doing of which, though my Lord took all the care imaginable, yet a conſiderable part paſſed through private hands, to the enrichment of the town. And the place had alſo another hit of like nature in a French ſhip, that by accident happened to be ſecured at Tangier, after the war was actually declared, and yet ſeveral days before the news thereof could reach the place.

About the end of this year, my Lord having many affairs at home which required his being there, as well as the expectation of a place near his Majeſty's perſon, which he doth at preſent enjoy, obtained the King's permiſſion to return, leaving in April, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-ſix, the command unto Col. Norwood, who held the ſame as Lieutenant-governor, Col. Fitzgerald having quitted that place, and being gone for England not long before.

The war with Holland and France continued for the two ſummers next after Col. Norwood's coming to Tangier; and becauſe of ſeveral privateers ſet forth from the place, and many prizes brought in, the buſineſs and trade was much increaſed; and however this might end, as commonly ſuch gains are wont to do, not very much to the advantage of the undertakers, yet moſt certainly the place in general got well thereby,

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and the public enemies did very much ſuffer. And afterwards, upon the falling-out which happened between the two Crowns of France and Spain, in the ſhort time that war continued, were landed ſo many rich goods from France, as turned to good account for the public benefit of the town, and would have greatly enriched the place, and ſhewn the uſefulneſs of it, had that war been of longer laſting. About Auguſt, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-eight, his Majeſty ſent a charter to Tangier, which erected a civil power, by making a Major, ſix Aldermen, and twelve of the Common Council; and ſet up a Court of Juſtice, conſiſting of the Major and a Recorder when preſent, and in their abſence any three of the Aldermen: and alſo another Court, more peculiar for the determining all mercantile and maritime affairs; and in the patent, which conſtituted the Court of Record, it was eſpecially directed, that all proceedings of juſtice ſhould be had as near as with conveniency might be, according to the cuſtoms and the laws of England, which was not done but after a full debate, and ſerious diſquiſition of the matter; for ſome were of opinion, that, in regard Tangier was, by its ſituation, encompaſſed with neighbours governed by laws differing from ours, and, as was believed, that the inhabitants and buſineſs of it would chiefly conſiſt in negotiations with ſtrangers, the civil law would be much more proper for that place: but, beſides that the ſettling of this could not paſs but with ſome diſhonour to the laws of England, many great lawyers were of opinion, ſo fundamental a change could not be legally done without an act of Parliament; and they remembered, that the anſwer of the Houſe of Commons, to a former propoſition of this kind, was in very few words, "That they would not alter the laws of England." And upon farther enquiry into the matter, to

erect the civil law was, according to propriety of ſpeech, to introduce the voluminous codes and pandects, and antiquated law of the Romans, which is in every country ſo changed by particular laws, that there is little of the former remaining according to its firſt purity and practice; and if the civil law were to be introduced, according to any new refinement and amendment, it would have been matter of much difficulty to have determined, whether it ought to be the civil law, according to the cuſtom of Spain or France, or any other country, which is governed by the forms and practice thereof? Or whether it ought to be the civil law, corrected according to ſome laws made peculiar for Tangier? The conſideration of all which ſeemed ſo perplexed, as to find it much more convenient to put in uſe the laws of England, which was nothing elſe than the civil law according to the practice and cuſtoms of our own country; and this appeared more reaſonable, in regard it was found a miſtake to think that the ſtranger inhabitants bore any proportion to thoſe that were born his Majeſty's ſubjects. The language vulgarly ſpoken was Engliſh, and foreigners make little more ſhew at Tangier than in ſome towns of England that front the territories of other Princes; and then the end of all law being the ſame juſtice, that ought to be rather in reaſon choſen, which the major part of the inhabitants were acquainted with, than foreign laws that were wholly new, and which had not been perhaps ſo much as heard of. For my own particular, having had ſome experience of what kind of juſtice is had in other countries, and how the ſame paſſes in our own, I muſt needs avow (and I hope I do it not that I am biaſſed to be in love with our native cuſtoms, but becauſe it is true) that there is at this day leſs partiality and corruption among our Engliſh Judges than what is in any

other part of the known world; which does not proceed, I think, becauſe men are naturally better among ourſelves than in other countries; but for that it is more difficult to do amiſs where the Judges and the Jury are mutual checks the one upon another, and where the law is a rule unto both, than where the ſame is in a manner left to the arbitrary determination of a certain number of known men, who by daily experience we find, both in France and Spain, and other countries, to make the laws ſpeaking according to their particular intereſts and affections; and that nothing is more uſual, than to have cauſes paſs by the weight of gratuities and preſents that are made unto the reſpective Judges before whom they do depend; and the appeals and delays are yet abundantly more tedious and dilatory than what we hear complained of in England. Now, if it be difficult in the moſt populous and beſt-poliſhed countries, to make choice of Judges, which, according to the conſtitution of the civil practice, will not be led by gifts and gratuities, how impoſſible is it to meet with perſons fitly qualified, in a place made up of ſoldiers and trading men, whoſe education and practices little ſuit them to the nice diſtinctions of equity and juſtice! And beſides, the Judges being likely to be choſen among the chiefeſt merchants reſiding on the place, theſe will probably be one way or other intereſted in all the conſiderable ſuits that ſhall be depending, and ſo become either openly or under-hand to judge and determine in the cauſes of themſelves, or their correſpondents and friends. But to help all inconveniencies that might be found from an over-cloſe adhering to the laws of England, or from the defect of laws peculiar and neceſſary to the place, there was in the charter inſerted a power for the corporation to make municipal laws, which were declared of force for a year, and of farther continuance as

the King ſhould approve and allow the ſame. But the introduction of a civil power, being an abridgement to the military, occaſioned it to be received with ſo much heat as might have been of worſe conſequence, had not the Earl of Sandwich happened to be there at the time, by inſtructions taking Tangier in his way as he paſſed from his extraordinary embaſſy in Spain to England; by whoſe authority and prudence, all difficulties were overcome, and the King's charter received with ſuch peace and quietneſs as became the duty of his ſubjects, without any other appearance of diſcontent than what remained from ſuch private animoſities as are not unuſual among perſons of different intereſts and factions. The Mole had now, for about three years, advanced with a continual good progreſs and approbation, the carts bringing daily great quantities of ſtone, without any obſtruction from the ſtorms and the weather, and the work having not received from the ſea the leaſt of damage; but about the end of December in this year, and the beginning of January following, happened the firſt breach, the noiſe of which filled all the Gazettes of Europe; and though this was in conſequence no more than what is uſual in ſuch-like works, it was, however, repreſented into England with ſo much inflammation on the one hand, and again on the other ſo much leſſened, that the truth of the bare matter, according to fact, was hard to be judged by thoſe that were unbiaſſed in the affair; but, from the diverſity of complaints, it was very plain, men lived at Tangier full of diviſions and unquietneſs, which made the buſineſs of that place paſs with leſs eaſe at home; and the reaſons of thoſe people that ſpoke againſt the intereſt of it, heard with more favour and advantage. My Lord Middleton had now for ſome time been nominated Governor of Tangier; but his going thither hindered

from the neceſſity of other public commands, which delayed his Excellency's journey until September, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-nine, ſo that he did not arrive at Tangier until the beginning of the next October, where he found my Lord Harry Howard, who not long before was come thither, with a great train, as Ambaſſador-extraordinary ſent from his Majeſty to Taffaletta, the preſent Emperor of theſe parts, and was now negociating his entrance with ſuch care and circumſpection as was neceſſary for his own ſecurity, and the King's honour; and though the affairs of Barbary were at that time ſo unſettled as made it impoſſible for my Lord, with any kind of prudence, to go into the country, yet he ordered matters ſo well, as at this day to be commended by the very Moors, for the cautions he uſed in returning home, and retiring from this employment: and though there came not to Tangier much of advantage from any effect that this embaſſy had, yet in another way it found all the right the place could either merit or expect; for the Ambaſſador, being of high quality in his perſon, and of great intereſt in his fortune, and in his nature truly an Engliſhman of plain and bold ſpeaking, was not only well heard, but believed, in the repreſentations he made, which were true, and greatly advantageous to the intereſt of the place. Col. Norwood continued not long at Tangier after the arrival of my Lord Middleton, but retired into England November following.

A Continuation of this Account of Affairs from the Arrival of the Earl of Middleton *unto the Beginning of the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Seventy-two.*

My Lord Middleton found Tangier very uneaſy, becauſe of the heats and diſputes that were daily happening; but, being great in his quality, and accuſtomed to command, tempered his power with ſo equal a hand, that in a little time there was a public harmony and peace. The markets were not only left free, but with all encouragement to the traders; the effect of which was found both in the plenty and the cheapneſs of proviſions, had at leſs than one-half of the former rates, and in the good progreſs and ſucceſſes that followed the work of the Mole, and all public labours. The caſtle, which was almoſt falling, his Excellency repaired ſo as, at an eaſy charge, to make it a houſe convenient and honourable for the character he had of Governor and General; and having inſtructions to remove the ſtores of proviſion for more ſecurity unto the upper caſtle, with better huſbandry, he made the preſent ſtores ſafe under the protection of a ſtrong wall, well flanked, and which made the caſtle contiguous to the harbour. He repaired York Caſtle, which was exceedingly ruinous, though in itſelf the chief magazine for powder and all ſtores of war, and cauſed the quay to be made at the water-ſide, for the convenient unlading of veſſels, and which gives an intercourſe between the City and the Mole.

Some little time before my Lord Middleton embarked for Tangier, his Majeſty taking into conſideration, that by the death of the Earl of Tiviot and Sir John Lawſon, the ſecurity for

for building the Mole did depend upon the ſingle life of Sir Hugh Cholmley, the third and only contractor for that work who was left alive, was pleaſed, as well out of this reſpect, as for other weighty reaſons, to conſent to the altering the method of that affair, by canceling the articles of the former contract, and by reducing the iſſues of the ſame, to paſs under a regulated method and office, principally under the care and inſpection of the ſaid Sir Hugh Cholmley, compoſer of theſe papers, as Surveyor-general of that work; who, in order to the execution of this truſt, arrived at Tangier the following April, where he found the new breaches, which had again happened to the Mole the paſt winter, reducing the reputation of that work to a very low eſteem; and this not only in the opinions of men living on the place, but among others of the beſt and ſobereſt underſtanding at home; ſo that his Majeſty's Commiſſioners found it neceſſary to command a public examination of the matter; whoſe letters coming to Tangier, after that, in a few weeks, ſo many pillars were made as gave protection unto that part of the Mole which formerly received the moſt damage, had an anſwer atteſted by the hands of moſt perſons that were conſiderable in the place, expreſſing the general ſatisfaction conceived in the preſent way of proceeding with piles and pillars; and declaring farther, that the breaches which had happened, were ſo far from bringing prejudice to the Mole, as, on the contrary, to make a better foundation for the pillars; the truth of which appeared very effectually in the ſtorms of the two following winters, which did not only paſs without doing of damage to the Mole, or to the pillars built upon the foundation made by theſe breaches, but with ſo little other prejudice, as ſcarce to remove one of the looſe and ſmall ſtones, which lay without the pillars next the

ſea,

ſea, naked, and without any kind of protection, and yet were raiſed to high-water mark, and continued to lodge in that manner, bedding and cementing themſelves ſo as greatly to protect the very pillars, by becoming a perfect beach gradually raiſed, and lying before them, which could never have been but becauſe the foundation was ſettled, as far as it could ſettle, from the conſequence of the ſaid former breaches that had happened; and I may with confidence aſſert, this part of the work, which is in length about four hundred yards, will neither receive for the future any prejudice to the body of the Mole, or need any very conſiderable repairs, even in the water-breaker, that is, in the outward and moſt expoſed work: and for the reſt of the great Mole, which will not require to be carried into the ſea above one hundred yards more upon the ſame line, though I cannot think it will ever be made without ſuch a ſettlement in the foundation as may occaſion future breaches in this part; ſo, I ſuppoſe, according to the preſent method of proceeding, theſe will not happen in any great proportion; it is poſſible, every year to the new driving fifty or a hundred oak piles, or to the loſs of half a dozen of the laſt made pillars, which the next ſummer will be eaſily repaired, and little to hinder the advance of work of the ſame ſummer; and this, I think, was explained to the meaneſt capacity in the former repairs, where in one ſummer ſo many pillars were made as protected the broad ſide of the work for about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and yet advanced the ſame above twenty yards farther into the ſea, which is as great a progreſs as, I ſuppoſe, can in any one year for the future be depended upon; and this I doubt not will be had unto the end of the work, if the preſent eſtabliſhment be regularly aſcertained and paid: and by the ſame account the Mole, which

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is at this day about four hundred and twenty yards, will in four years more be advanced near eighty yards farther; unto which had need only be added a return of ſixty yards, to break the eaſt ſeas: and this return, notwithſtanding the increaſe of the water's depth, may be alſo made in four years more, becauſe, being expoſed to no very conſiderable ſeas, it will not require a breadth equal to the foreſaid great and long Mole; all which being made, as it certainly may be, in the compaſs of the foreſaid years, and ſooner, if more monies be yearly allowed; then the Mole at Tangier, which is at preſent ſo uſeful, that ſome of his Majeſty's frigates, of good draught, have cleaned and careened there, will be by much the moſt ſecure harbour of any other that was ever made, and ſo capacious, as to winter a royal fleet of capital ſhips, and to contain upon it what is no where elſe to be ſeen, cellars and warehouſes for all ſorts of merchandiſe and ſtores; and this I mention for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that may be deſirous to know, in how long time the work may be brought to anſwer the public end and expectation, and more eſpecially to make it known, that the difficulties of building the Mole conſiſts only in making the water-breaker, or outward work, above the low-water mark upwards; and that although the preſent proceeding with piles and pillars is as applicable, and as well ſuited to this purpoſe, as any thing elſe that may be, I think, practically propoſed; yet, that neither this nor any other protection can be made equally good to a gradual interception of the water, which is not to be gained but by a perfect ſettlement of the foundation; nor perhaps upon any terms more eaſy than what may happen from the conſequence of two or three breaches, which as it is manifeſt in the ſecurity given to the work already made, ſo I doubt not will be as effectually found, if the ſame

ſhall at any time happen, as I think it will, unto the remaining hundred yards, and reſt of the work which is yet to be built.

Some Diſcourſes farther ſtating the ſeveral Intereſts of Tangier.

Having proceeded thus far, it might now be neceſſary to diſcourſe ſomething concerning the ſeveral intereſts of Tangier, in relation to the preſent charge and advantage of the place, as how the ſame may be probably improved to the benefit of the Engliſh nation, and of what conſequence it might be unto our affairs, if by accident or chance it happened to fall into the power of any other Potentate. Before I enter upon which, it will be requiſite to take notice of ſome objections that I have met with from ſome men, who argue againſt the keeping of Tangier from the reaſons that they think perſuaded the parting with Dunkirk; and ſay, "If it were found reaſonable to quit a place ſo near relief, and ſo eminent an inlet upon the territories of our neighbours, what cauſes can be found for maintaining ſo remote a place as Tangier; in itſelf ſo weak, as liable at laſt to be taken either by the Moor if they increaſe in knowledge, or by any Chriſtian King that ſhall judge the importance of it worth the coſt of ſuch an expedition?"

Not to inſiſt upon this very conſiderable difference between the two places, that Tangier will probably be a moſt excellent and capacious ſtation for the talleſt ſhips; and that Dunkirk neither is, nor can be made, other than a dry harbour, only capable to ſecure ſuch veſſels as can lye on ground at the ebb of the tide; ſo if the port were never ſo good, it would, as to the ſea part, be of little advantage unto England, by reaſon of the many and near harbours that are upon our own continent,

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from whence ſhips may paſs with the ſame facility, becauſe the conſequence is ſmall at ſea in the ſailing twenty or thirty leagues; and it is not the harbour, but the ſhips, that make the influence upon the intereſt of our neighbours; and as to the inlet that ſuch a place may be unto conqueſts upon the Continent, it will be found that England was never ſo much exhauſted, as when our anceſtors raiſed ſo many trophies to their victories in France: all which has been ſince loſt, with more happineſs, I think, to the intereſt of an Engliſhman, than it was ever gained; for if our own Prince ſhould ever come to poſſeſs the two Crowns, France would probably be the ſeat of his Empire, and England would be governed by his Vice-roy. Nor was the former ſucceſſes due only to our own Engliſh power; but alſo to the great paternal poſſeſſions our Kings had of the large and noble principalities of Normandy and Aquitaine; and beſides, met the aſſiſtance and conjunction of the Dukes of Britainy, and more powerful and great Dukes of Burgundy; and therefore, as it is now much more unreaſonable, France being made ſubject to one Monarch, for us to harbour any deſigns of conqueſt upon it, without a conjunction with Spain, that inherits the intereſts of Burgundy; ſo if this be found neceſſary to poiſe the over-growing greatneſs of France, Spain will ever be ready to open her harbours, which will be in the interim kept at the coſt of our neighbours. And the ſame arguments will be of force in caſe we ſhould have any deſign upon Flanders: France will not ſuffer it, unleſs in conjunction with them, to abate the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria; and then we ſhall never want her harbours and her continent to land upon. As to the arguments that are made in favour of Dunkirk, becauſe of ſome ſuccours ſent from thence in ſome of the laſt Dutch engagements, it was a thing

merely caſual; and thoſe that ſend ſhips to ſea not ſufficiently appointed, and with dependance upon additional ſuccours from land, leave ſo much to wind, weather, and chance, as cannot ſtand with any prudence; and therefore, as ſuch a help is not to be depended upon, ſo if it happens is little to be valued by underſtanding men: nor will the inconvenience of privateers, that in time of war may moleſt our coaſt, from an enemy's being poſſeſſed of Dunkirk, prove of any great conſideration; for whilſt Spain poſſeſſes Oſtend, and France hath other adjoining harbours, the inconvenience of privateers will be ſtill the ſame; for theſe being uſually ſmall veſſels, the worſt harbour will be good and capacious enough for as many of them as deſire to try, or can hope to do any good, upon the piratic trade; and therefore I confeſs myſelf among the number of thoſe that think, as Dunkirk could not have been made to maintain itſelf, it ought to be parted with, as all other places that may not be brought, from one cauſe or other, to anſwer the public expence; and this the rather, becauſe from the large and poor territories of Spain, and narrow confinements of the United Provinces, we are plainly taught, that the happineſs and power of a nation does not conſiſt in much land, but in much money and riches, which is the conſequence of a great trade, and an abundance of people; but the conſiderations that favour our Engliſh intereſts in Tangier ſeem to be greatly different; and the chief argument for the uſefulneſs of that place is, becauſe of its remoteneſs, ſituated in the midſt of the trading world, upon an inlet into a ſea that goes near three thouſand miles in length, and waſhes the moſt noble and moſt poliſhed countries of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; by the walls and in ſight of which, or at leaſt very near thereunto, paſs the greateſt riches of the world, and this at ſuch a

diſtance from England, that it is impoſſible for us to have any benefit from the harbours of our own country; nor other than what is precarious, and depending on the will of foreign Princes; and if Spain ſhould happen to be in enmity with England, and by marriage or otherwiſe come to unite with the kingdom of Portugal, it will be to very little purpoſe for our nation to ſend any ſhips into this part of the world, becauſe of the uncertainty of harbours to repair what may be amiſs, and to clean them ſo frequently, that they may be of uſeful ſailing. And even in times of peace with Spain, by experience in the late war with Algiers, we find how uneaſy and troubleſome it is for our frigates to get admittance into any of their harbours, which happens alſo in Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean, becauſe of the quarantine, or forty days forbearance from landing, which, from the practice and formalities of their cautious proceeding in fear of the plague, is become a thing almoſt of indiſpenſable neceſſity, and therefore certainly impoſed upon any, that may be preſumed to have a communication either with the Turks or the Moors; and for this cauſe, the expedition that may be hoped from a port in our own power, by the ſpeedy diſpatch of ſhips, will be of conſiderable importance in itſelf, even in the leſſening of the public charge; and in this ſingle reſpect, a harbour is very deſirable to be had in thoſe remote ſeas. Now, as to the conſideration of Tangier, from what inconvenience it may be liable to, becauſe of the weakneſs and incapacity to make any great reſiſtance to a well-formed ſiege; this may have ample remedy by fortifying the place, which may be made exceeding ſtrong at an eaſy charge, eſpecially if fortified at ſome little diſtance, upon eminences that are advantageouſly diſpoſed for that ſervice; and in regard the ſea encompaſſes two parts of three, if

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the whole were regularly fortified from ſea to ſea, by the preſent outlines, it would not require above ſix or ſeven baſtions, which is no great line of defence; and yet within this there would be much ground for other intrenchments, which is eſteemed of greateſt importance to the ſecurity of all places, but eſpecially of thoſe that have a port open, and a kingdom to friend. But Tangier hath ſeveral other conſiderations which accidentally contribute to its greater ſtrength; for, beſides that the people are ſo barbarous in themſelves, and ſo poor, and ſo continually embroiled in civil wars, that no near proſpect can be imagined to make them apprehended, becauſe of their improvement in martial diſcipline, according to the methods of Europe; ſo the country being exceedingly hilly about Tangier, makes all ſorts of carriages, and preparations neceſſary for a ſiege, not only difficult, but almoſt impoſſible to be brought, though endeavoured, by a people of the moſt poliſhed induſtry and pains; and if the ſiege be to be attempted in ſummer, there will be ſo much inconvenience from the heats, and more eſpecially from the great wants of water, as will of courſe raiſe it in a ſhort time; and again in winter, ſuch are the continual rains, that the inconvenience from hence will be found to be incompatible with the expectation of many days. Again, ſetting aſide that there are ſome fruitful corn fields about Tangier, the country is without town or village, and lies uncultivated and deſolate for many miles together, which make the neceſſities of hunger ſoon felt in an army, and among any conſiderable bodies of living creatures; and poſſibly the way practiſed for reducing of ſtrong places in Flanders and thoſe parts is not ſo much due to the method of their proceedings, as to ſecondary cauſes, from the abundances of towns and villages; and hence all neceſſaries to ſupply whatever defect or

difficulty

difficulty may be met with in the practical part; which doth more plainly appear, for that after the peace that was made ſome years paſt between France and Spain, we find a conſiderable part of the ſame army, and officers, and engineers, that in Flanders knew how to reduce places with ſo much regularity and certainty, were foiled, and forced to raiſe their ſieges againſt places of leſs defence, that were ſituated upon the frontiers of Portugal. And if the great and mighty Ottoman Empire, that from long obedience was become ſettled and poliſhed in the maxims of war and government, found it a buſineſs of ſo many years, and of ſuch difficulty, to reduce Candy; certainly Tangier, that may be made much more ſtrong, and have a more conſiderable ſupport from England, than ever the other had from Venice, might (at leaſt if fortified) be free from any apprehenſions of the Moor. And to ſuppoſe a Chriſtian enemy to force his landing upon the Continent is equally impoſſible, becauſe of the oppoſition which the Moor would give, and alſo from the rocky and incommodious coaſt, which is ſuch as ſcarce to admit a poſſibility of landing the bare men, much leſs the great magazines of all ſorts of ſtores of war and proviſions for the belly, that would be neceſſary for a few days ſuſtenance of an army; and yet the care muſt extend to the future ſupport, as well as the preſent ſupply; and ſuch is the great uncertainty of weather, becauſe of the Streights mouth, that even in the ſummer time, notwithſtanding the help of many boats from Tangier, and the advantage of the harbour that is there, I have known a ſhip of three hundred tons, that lay off at ſome little diſtance, hardly unladen in ſix weeks time; and by this it may be judged, how tedious the attempts would be of landing great quantity of ſtores upon the coaſt, where many times tempeſts riſe on the ſudden, and

where there always was ſuch a conſiderable ſurf and ſwell of the ſea, as makes it almoſt impoſſible at any time to land any thing out of a boat upon the ſhore. And to believe that theſe people can ever be perſuaded tamely to permit, from any reaſons or arguments that can be given, to ſuffer a Chriſtian army to land upon their Continent, is to believe the laſt of difficulties; for, of all ſorts of fooliſh zealots, they are the moſt ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to obſerve the very letter of their law, and their ſuppoſed maxims; by which it being expreſſly forbidden to ſuffer the landing of Chriſtian armies, to be ſure they will either not at all conſent to this, or only with an intent to ſurprize or deſtroy them; either for the enrichment of their ſouls, becauſe of the religious merit that they believe from hence; or for the enrichment of their purſes, by making the men captives, which is the more to be doubted, in regard that ſlaves are their money, and as commonly ſold in the market as in Europe are ſheep and oxen. And beſides, to what purpoſe this charge, ſince it may be believed, that of all ſorts of Chriſtians, they had rather the Engliſh were, than any others, poſſeſſors of Tangier? And this kindneſs, ſuch as it is, doth proceed from an opinion, that we intend nothing but the harbour; and that for us they have leſs of animoſity, becauſe of the ancient community that we have had with theſe people, who never think themſelves well cloathed but from the wools of our own country.

As to the objections that may ſtill remain in the minds of ſome men, that the Mole is not to be built; or, if it be, that the ground within is ſo foul, and full of rocks, as always to gaul the mooring and cables of ſhips ſo as it will never be a good harbour: to the firſt of theſe I ſhall only ſay, that at this day the Mole hath made a more ſecure port, in the opinion

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of moſt ſeamen, than is that of Algiers, and therefore not at preſent of contemptible ſervice: and if there were, as it is, a ſmall return made to break the eaſt ſeas, ſuch as might be finiſhed in ſix months time, though the Mole would not be then that capacious harbour which is propoſed, it would well nigh, however, equal in goodneſs any other that is to be met with, for there would be about eighteen feet water at low tide; and this is abundantly ſufficient for the beſt ſhips, when unladen, to clean in: and though thus poſſibly it could not ſecure above two or three of theſe greater veſſels at one time, ſo is there not much of need that it ſhould do more, ſince ſuch a number is as many as will be neceſſary to careen at once; and veſſels of war may, all weathers, ſecurely ride without, in eighteen or twenty fathoms water, where they are much more near ſpeaking with all ſhips that paſs, or elſe they may be cruizing up and down, which is their proper buſineſs, and to uſe a harbour no otherwiſe than to repair what may be amiſs, and to clean with expedition, that they may be always in the better condition, either for the avoiding or meeting ſhips at ſea. As for the other objection, concerning the ill ground within the harbour, it is a perfect miſtake, generally occaſioned from ſome moſs, that, growing in the bottom at ſeveral places, makes the water to appear black in patches, and this men have commonly taken for ill ground; whereas, upon ſounding, it is found to be nothing other than what I have mentioned; and that there are within the harbour very few, and thoſe looſe, ſmall rocks, which may be eaſily taken up when the Mole is built; and theſe are in the ſhallow, and where ſhips of burden cannot come. On the other hand, if the harbour was full of rocks, provided there was water enough above theſe for ſhips to ride without ſtriking, the inconvenience that might happen

to their moorings and cables is not to be valued, becauſe it is eaſy and cuſtomary for ſhips and veſſels in thoſe caſes to buoy up their cables, ſo as to receive no prejudice; and at an inconſiderable charge may be laid ground chains, with others faſtened to theſe, to which ſhips might faſten on the one part, as to the pillars upon the Mole on the other, and by this means ride ſecurely, and with leſs damage than almoſt in any other place.

Having thus ſet down my thoughts of the difference that there ſeems to me between the importance of Dunkirk and of Tangier, and how unlikely it is that the latter ſhould either ſubmit to the force of a Moor, or of a Chriſtian enemy, and ſhewed how uſeful the Mole is at this day, and how it might be ſpeedily made of very important ſervice; it may not be amiſs to take a view of the place in its expence and advantage; and that in this I may be more regular, I ſhall at firſt ſet down the preſent eſtabliſhment, which I find for ſome years paſt reduced to the annual charge of 31,999 *l.* 10 *s.* out of which is paid in England, by contract, to the Victualer, for proviſions for the common ſoldier, 14,645 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.*; and of the remaining part, I find ſo much ſtill remitted into our country, for other neceſſary ſupplies of the place, that at the higheſt computation cannot be reckoned of the whole above five thouſand pounds, that may be yearly tranſported to our neighbours for freſh proviſions and wines, which is a ſum ſo very inconſiderable, as not at all to be valued upon a national account; and it is likely, that if the ſame mouths were in England, there would be ſo much the more conſumption of theſe foreign liquors; which coming chiefly from Spain, and in barter for our native manufactures, it is greatly to be queſtioned, whether it be at all to our diſadvantage; or whether it were not ſtill for the intereſt of England, to increaſe our trade in the conſumptions of them; for, I believe,

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in former times, when there paſſed many more butts of ſherries and Malaga wines into England, it will be found at the end of the accompt, there went no leſs money than at preſent: for this is certain, that the Spaniard muſt take of our merchandiſe ſomething in proportion to the conſumption we make of theirs; and when this is leſs, the conſequence will be no other, than that we ſhall not drink ſo much of their wines, nor they cloath themſelves ſo well with our wools, and neither of the Crowns be the richer for this good huſbandry.

Now, if the expence of Tangier be had in ſuch a way as not at all to diminiſh the treaſure of the nation; then, by conſequence, whatever riches have been carried into England becauſe of this place, or ſaved to our countrymen that would have been loſt without it, is virtually and in truth ſo much perfectly gained; and if Tangier hath been at all uſeful in this kind, we muſt acknowledge ourſelves by ſo much the better and the richer for it already. In taking a view of which, though I paſs by the great advantage before touched upon, in the conſumption of our Engliſh manufactures duriug the plague year, the conſequence of which would have been felt in the greater fall of rents, had theſe remained in the nation; nor inſiſt upon the prejudice our enemies ſuffered in attending the place with great fleets, and becauſe of the privateers ſet out from hence, theſe being rather of hurt unto others, than beneficial to ourſelves; certainly the Spaniſh and French ſhips that were forced in here, and ſold for ſeveral thouſand pounds, and after carried into the kingdom by our countrymen, was directly bringing ſo much money into the nation; to which may be added the tenths and fifteenths, and other duties, that were accruing from prizes brought in by the privateers; and, beſides this, what is far more conſiderable, the

ſeveral rich ſhips coming from Smyrna, Zant, and other parts, both in their way to, and out of, England; as alſo ſome of our men of war, that eſcaped from the protection and ſuccour of this place, may be brought into the ſcale of the advantages we have had; and theſe are in themſelves of ſo conſiderable a value, that, notwithſtanding the over-great expences had for Tangier in the beginning, which appears by the large reducement; yet thoſe who have taken ſome pains in the computation are of opinion, what has been thus ſaved, and which is really and in truth ſo much got, is of more value than what the place hath coſt from the beginning. By which it is very plain, the Engliſh nation can in no conſideration grow the poorer for keeping Tangier, and may continually as already be the better, and grow the richer, by the occaſional conſequences of having this place to friend and ſuccour. Now, for the prejudice the expence may be to the King's particular exchequer, beſides that it may be remedied by the Parliament's granting his Majeſty a ſmall fund peculiar and appropriated to the keeping of the place; this is in itſelf ſo inconſiderable an iſſue, as doth not ſeem to be of any influence upon the affairs of ſo great and potent a Prince, who has to balance whatever charge, not only the honour of the acqueſt, but the influence ſuch a poſt has in all treaties upon Spain, and other Chriſtian Princes, which may (it is poſſible) ſave more to the Crown another way; and over and above whatever conſiderations may go along with the poſſeſſion of this place, in relation to thoſe of Algiers. And here let the ſeveral Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips be conſulted with, and they will declare from the mouths of all the captives, and all the men of Algiers, that thoſe people have very great apprehenſions of Tangier, ſuch as makes them in times of war only plunder, and rather chuſe to loſe the prizes they

they take, by ſinking and ſetting them on drift, than to venture paſſing them through the Streights. And this was practiſed in the laſt war, in which they ſuffered one of the greateſt loſſes they ever had, from ſome of our men of war that lay here in wait for the return of ſix of their beſt frigates, and by the deſtruction of theſe explained ſo much the uſefulneſs of this ſtation, that I think, upon all conſiderations, none will be ſo unreaſonable as to deny, that ſince the Algerines cannot live in enmity with all the Chriſtian world, but muſt have ſome of the Northern Potentates to friend, the conſideration of Tangier will probably turn the ſcale ſo far, as to make them chooſe our friendſhip rather than that of any other Prince, who is not ſo fairly ſeated to moleſt their paſſage, either in the return of their men of war, or more eſpecially of the prizes which they ſhall take. And this being granted, certainly it may be concluded, the conſideration of Tangier will at one time or other, by continuing a longer peace, ſave his Majeſty at leaſt as much as may countervail one year's expence of war with theſe infidels; and then, if the charge of ſuch a war be according to what the laſt was, which I compute to little leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds the year, and this borrowed by his Majeſty at above ten *per cent.* the intereſt money of the expence in one year's war with the Algerines doth more than keep Tangier for ever, according to the preſent eſtabliſhment; and therefore I cannot allow it to be at all a burden, even to his Majeſty's particular Exchequer.

Next it may be fit to enquire, of what prejudice the place would be to the intereſt of the nation in general, as alſo to the particular concernments of his Majeſty, as well to his honour and reputation, if Tangier ſhould come into the

poſſeſſion of any other Potentate; [* and, firſt, in caſe it ſhould fall into the hands of the French King, whom we muſt conſider only poſſeſſed of two places that can be reaſonably reckoned ſecure and good harbours for ſhips of great force, to wit, Breſt ſituated upon the weſt of France, and Toulon on the ſouth upon the Mediterranean Sea, diſtant about ſix hundred leagues one from the other in the mid-way, and upon the narrow: This King, by having Tangier, would be poſſeſſed of a third harbour, which he would ſoon make not inferior to either of the other two, and unto which ſuccours might be ſent by every wind from one part or other of his territories. Now, if Tangier ſhould come into the poſſeſſion of the Hollander, though it might be bad enough becauſe of their powerful ſhipping, yet we ſhould not feel ſo ſudden effects of this; becauſe the Dutch being men of trade, rather than action, and ſubject in their own territories to the great inconvenience of our men of war and harbours, they would at leaſt for ſome years, in all probability, be no ways deſirous to break with England; but if the Moors, or thoſe of Algiers, ſhould come poſſeſſors of the place, the Mole, as it is, would be found of far more inconvenience than the harbours they have at Sallee or Algiers.

If Tangier were again delivered back unto thoſe of Portugal, the greateſt danger would be, that as they once found it their intereſt to part with the place unto the Engliſh, ſo they may another time be perſuaded to diſpoſe it to the worſt of our enemies.

* In the margin Sir Hugh Cholmley has written, "But the ill conſequences depending ſolely upon the ſituation, and this ſo obvious to the view of every man that ſees it in the map, I had not need to enlarge thereupon; but end this diſcourſe by ſetting forth what, I think, may contribute to the future growth and welfare of the place."

From

From all which conſiderations I muſt conclude, if the continuance of the poſſeſſion of Tangier was, upon due debate, found inconvenient to remain in our own hands, the King of Spain would be the only Prince to whom it might be ſafely parted with; for in the hands of Spain it would be ſafe, from their adjoining territories and power that might be ſufficient to maintain it, as from their intereſts that could not reaſonably ſuppoſe a parting with it; and then, in their poſſeſſion, would be of very little importance to the affairs of Europe, from the ſame cauſes and reaſons that makes Dunkirk leſs conſiderable to England, becauſe the Spaniards have already near at hand Cadiz, Gibraltar, and other ſufficient harbours, from which they may be able to do whatever they can propoſe from another additional port at Tangier.

For my own particular, I am willing to flatter myſelf, that from the conſequence of keeping it, though I may not live to ſee that day, will in time, however, be accompliſhed another of Noſtradamus's prophecies, explaining perhaps the former, which ſays *, "The great Empire ſhall be with England, the envy of the world, above three hundred years." Certainly there is enough temptation for this, from the richneſs of the territory, and the facility of the conqueſt, to be had almoſt without the loſs of blood, if the preparation be any thing ſuited to the deſign; and the progreſs be chiefly made by the ſpade and by the ſhovel. To the end, therefore, that I may contribute what I can from the proſperity of Tangier to the growing greatneſs of our poſterity and blood, I ſhall in the laſt place ſet down what I think may be neceſſary for the preſent

* "Le grand Empire ſera par Angleterre, le pempotam des ans plus de trois cens." Gen. 10. Num. G.

well-

well-being of the place, as alſo for its future increaſe and glory.]

The Concluſion, obſerving what may be of Uſe for the future Growth and Welfare of Tangier.

The greateſt good or evil that can happen to Tangier will conſtantly depend upon the choice and qualifications of the Governor that is ſent, who ought to be a man of honour and known generoſity, ſuch as may render him above either open exactions or underhand contrivance to enrich himſelf, by ways and means that will always be ſet afoot by men either deſiring to ſhare in the booty, or to ingratiate themſelves with the Governor, which ſorts of profit will be one way or other to the public prejudice of the place. And that the Governor may have leſs temptation in this kind, it would be very convenient his ſalary was made ſufficient for the honourable and expenſive poſt he has; and that, for the ſame cauſe, the pay both to the officer and the ſoldier might be ſuch, and ſo regular, as to anſwer the exigences of the place, and their reaſonable occaſions; and then that they be held to a ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline, ſo that they may do violence to no man, and learn to be content with their wages.

That the civil power continually have all juſt countenance, to the intent there may be at leaſt a proſpect of hope that Tangier may in the end be brought to ſomething better than a little camp, trading in drink, and ſubject to the uſual diſorders.

That the place be well fortified now in the day that it may be certainly done, becauſe it is either of conſequence enough to be made ſtrong, or not of ſufficient importance to be kept.

That

That the Mole be carried on with more vigour and force, to the end the nation may the ſooner reap the benefit thereof, and becauſe of good huſbandry that would follow from a more vigorous proceeding, in regard the ſalary to officers and artificers, which now bears a conſiderable proportion to the whole, will be in a manner the ſame upon a greater allowance.

That upon the Mole be forthwith built conſiderable magazines and cellars for the uſe of his Majeſty's ſhips, and well ſtored with all neceſſaries from the navy, with ſufficient inſtructions that all ſuch ſhips that can with ſafety may alway be obliged to clean here; which will be to the honour and improvement of the place, as well as to the ſaving of his Majeſty's expence, though perhaps not ſo much to the intereſt of the reſpective commanders that might otherwiſe do it upon account, and have beſides, from the neceſſity, a more advantageous occaſion of paſſing unto foreign harbours. That other warehouſes may be built upon the Mole, for the public uſe of ſuch trading men as would make this the magazine of their ſtores; and that, for their better encouragement, little or nothing be taken for the houſing and warehouſing of ſuch commodities as would be again tranſported; and this, becauſe the rent of ſuch houſes would be of no great value, and the conſequence of allowing them free might be much, in drawing hither inhabitants from this advantage in one reſpect, and from the benefit of the free port in another; and, for the better increaſe of the town, it might not be amiſs to allow this privilege only unto ſuch as had families and houſes in the place.

That all means be uſed to encourage building and married people, by abating in ſome meaſure the preſent ground-rent paid to the King for houſes; and by granting either the inheritance, or ſuch long leaſes as may be an encouragement to building,

and fixing of families here, and by giving ſome allowance out of the public ſtock to all children born upon the place, for ſome years. The advantage of which his Majeſty will find, both in the eaſy recruiting of the garriſon from a colony of his own, and in the increaſe of the yearly exciſe laid upon the conſumptions in the place, and which is an inſenſible and effectual rent-charge upon every one that doth inhabit there: this being the ſame policy the Dukes of Florence have practiſed for to make Livorne flouriſh, and the Dukes of Medina Celi to enrich their oppoſite town of Porta Santa Maria. On the other hand, we find, that the great ground-rent which is paid unto the King upon houſes at Tangier, and the ſhort leaſes granted for twenty-one years, is of ſuch burden, and ſo little encouragment, that many chooſe rather to quit their houſes than pay the rent; and for this cauſe build ill, and only for the preſent time, and think not of making Tangier the ſtay of their fortune; but to ſcrape, and then to leave a place unto which they are bound by no fixed time, ſuch as would be the inheritance of houſes, and the expences men did iſſue upon the ſame, for the better and more commodious being of themſelves and their children; and, after all, little profit at the end of the accompt has, or ever will, accrue to his Majeſty from the rent of houſes; and the conſequence will be, to keep the place from growing either in inhabitants or better building; and that, at the end of the term, his Majeſty will have a thin town, or rather a heap of rubbiſh falling upon his hands.

That ſome effectual courſe be taken for the yearly recruit of a hundred or more common ſoldiers; to the end, thoſe upon the place, who are his Majeſty's ſubjects, and live in his ſer-

vice, may not have the continual mortification of being baniſhed from their native country, to the great hindrance of others from willingly coming to ſerve here; and to ſo much diſſatiſfaction of the poor ſoldier, that ſeveral in deſpair have run unto the Moor, to the perpetual loſs of their liberty; whereas men ſerving at the Mole, who have a freedom of leaving the work upon the expiration of their reſpective contracts, are ſeldom deſirous of returning home, but rather afraid of being diſcharged from their employments.

It were to be wiſhed, the place had a little more elbow-room by ſome forts, which are not difficult to be got, and may be advantageouſly placed; for this would be a certain means of an increaſing riches, becauſe much of the money, which now is carried out for daily neceſſaries, would be ſupplied from the convenience of a little more ground.

That, ſince his Majeſty has brought the Algerines to terms of agreement, he may alſo endeavour a peace with thoſe of Sallee; for that the war is not likely to be of much expence or duration; and that the effecting of peace by ſea may be of conſequence enough to open a trade into the country by land; and becauſe during the war thoſe of Sallee may do much prejudice to the ſmaller veſſels of our countrymen, which will certainly venture to ſea in good numbers, upon news of peace with Algiers, the men of which are not unlikely one way or other, and perhaps undiſcovered, to moleſt our trade, under the notion of men of war belonging to Sallee.

Whereas it is very obvious ſugars and other commodities, of the growth of the Weſt Indies, are ſupplied now from the Spaniſh and Portugal plantations, as to the chief conſumption of Spain, and what paſſes farther into the Streights; and this principally, becauſe the charge of bringing and unlading theſe

in England, and ſhipping them again from thence, is ſo great, that the commodities proceeding from the growth of our own colonies cannot for this cauſe be ſold ſo cheap as thoſe that come from the plantations of other nations; that therefore, out of this conſideration, liberty may be granted in England for ſhips to come immediately from our plantations to Tangier, with ſuch a proportion of their merchandiſe as may be for the conſumption of theſe parts, and cannot be brought hither (becauſe of the foreſaid charge) if they firſt paſs into England. And to the end his Majeſty may no ways be defrauded in his cuſtoms, or the nation in any imaginary trade, let this liberty be limited to a few and certain number of ſhips paſſing immediately out of England, by licence from his Majeſty, and giving ſecurity, if they arrive at Tangier, to pay their full cuſtoms, either according to what they receive at the plantations by authentic certificates, or their unlading at Tangier, or otherwiſe, according to ſuch compact as they ſhall firſt make with the Farmer or Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms at London; which being reduced to ſo good a method as may be eaſily thought on, leaves the practice without many objections, every way of advantage to his Majeſty's ſubjects. And poſſibly, when our plantations increaſe to a trade much beyond what can conſume from England, the uſe of Tangier, in venting the overplus, may be a conſideration of the greateſt importance to our Engliſh intereſt in thoſe our new acqueſts and colonies.

Thus have I deſcribed Tangier, and diſcourſed of the ſeveral intereſts thereof, and have ſet down, as well as I could, what in fact hath paſſed there ſince his Majeſty came poſſeſſed of that place. I have treated of the nature and way of building

Moles,

Mole, and have given the ſtory of Weſt Barbary for ſome years paſt, with more exactneſs than I think it has been formerly told. And if I have not related all particulars that have hindered the growth and proſperity of the place itſelf, with the full aggravation of circumſtances that were juſtly due, or ſet forth in perfect luſtre all that I think requiſite for its future increaſe and glory; yet I have ſet down of each as much as I thought was fitting for me to do, and what may, I hope, give ſome ſatisfaction, that the expence in keeping of it is had from the trade, and not from the money of the kingdom; that, at this day, there hath been more ſaved to the nation, in other advantages that have accrued from the poſſeſſion of the place; ſo that the keeping and improvement of it may be of great importance to our Engliſh intereſt; and that the work of the Mole is brought to ſo exact a method, and in ſuch forwardneſs, as to be certainly finiſhed in a little time, if his Majeſty's occaſions meet ſuch competent aſſiſtance, that, from the neceſſity of his affairs, the work may not miſcarry for want of due ſupplies at home: which I mention not that I am, I think, in my complection greatly ſubject to tranſgreſs by over-caring for the morrow, or to let my own heart fail me becauſe of doubts and remote misfortunes, which if they ever happen will be evils in themſelves ſufficient to the day of their coming; but becauſe there continually offers great uncertainty in all human affairs; and that I myſelf have, in the ſuperintendency of this great work, got over already ſo many cares and difficulties, that it behoves me now in prudence to expoſe no more my private fortune; but rather on the ſacred wall to paint my votive table, and to offer up my ſhipwrecked

cloaths

cloaths unto the God that hath made this preſent eaſe and quiet *; for we are not told from the unerring letter, that it is the public ſervice, but the doing good unto ourſelves, that gets the praiſe of men.

* Me tabulâ ſacer
Votivâ paries indidat uvida
Suſpendiſſe potenti
Veſtimenta maris Deo. Hor. 1 Od. v. 13.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIR HUGH CHOLMLEY'S JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE AND SPAIN TO TANGIER, WHERE HE WAS ENGAGED IN BUILDING THE MOLE IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

October 20, 1669.

THIS day I parted from London to Tangiers, with my wife, my little girl Moll this day twenty-five mouths old, my wife's niece Mrs. Mary Compton, three women, Mr. Sherwin chaplain, three men ſervants, and a footman attending above ſtairs, a coachman, poſtilion, and two grooms, ſeven coach-horſes, eight ſaddle-horſes, and one ſumpter-horſe. I ſent three ſervants with four horſes directly to Dover, and went myſelf that night to my uncle Judge Twyſden's houſe, about thirty miles from London, to Bradburn in Kent, where I reſted the next day, all of that family being there, except my uncle himſelf, who was gone the day before to London about the buſineſs of the term. At departure I gave in the houſe 3 £.

22. Went from Bradburn to Canterbury, being twenty-eight miles. Spent in the houſe 1 £. 10 ſ.; for the horſes, being twelve, 2 £.; ſpent in all, 3 £. 10 ſ.

23. Went to Dover, which is eighteen miles from Canterbury by the coach-way. Here I lodged at the Golden Dragon, one La Force's houſe, ſon to a Frenchman that kept the ſame ſign, an inn at Calais; but this man was married to an Engliſh woman, who was taken ill that very night with a violent vomiting; continuing thus Sunday and Sunday night not being at all refreſhed from ſome little ſlumbers that had ſeized upon her.

25. Being Monday, about ten of the clock in the morning, I had notice that the Henrietta yacht (which his Highneſs the Duke had ordered for my tranſportation) was, againſt all hopes and opinion of the ſeamen, got into harbour, in a ſtorm of wind which it blew againſt her coming from the Thames; but, being an admirable ſea boat, overcame all difficulties, and got very luckily into harbour, for receiving me and my family aboard within two hours after her arrival; for the maſter of the houſe ſent me word, juſt as dinner was coming up, that the doctor let him underſtand, he judged his wife's diſtemper to be the plague; and that, if I continued longer, the houſe would be ſhut up. I was ſomething ſurprized, and eſpecial afraid for my little girl, becauſe ſhe had been often paſſing through the ſick woman's chamber, which was a low parlour, a thoroughfare, where I and my wife and all the women-kind lay. I made little of the accident, and paſſed dinner without noiſe; ordering in the mean time all, excepting thoſe that belonged to the horſes, to repair immediately with the baggage aboard the yacht; which was done without noiſe, and ere the report of the infection was ſpread in the town. I then endeavoured to get my horſes into another ſtable; but this was impoſſible, the news being immediately in every one's mouth. The houſe was

preſently

preſently ſhut up. I hired two veſſels to tranſport my horſes, in which I had leave to put them.

26. Early in the morning the woman died, full of blue ſpots, and ſwellings under her arm-pits; and the diſeaſe came certainly from Deep, where it exceedingly raged, by ſome paſſengers that pretended to come from S. Vallury, and got admiſſion here. It pleaſed God the diſtemper did not extend farther; the cold of the ſeaſon, and a ſharp N.E. wind, contributing much to this, with the very great care of the Mayor, who had the corpſe viſited, and then buried by night in an uſual place for thoſe that die of the ſickneſs.

News of this nature uſually ſpreads; and I was very fearful leſt in France I might be put to make quarantine. Having ſome intereſt in the poſt-office, thoſe letters that mentioned this accident were delayed, and only ſent (if at all) after I was well on my way in France. The wind was contrary, and kept us in harbour, and aboard; for none of the town would admit any into their houſes.

27. The wind continued ſtill contrary, yet ſo as about eleven at night we warped out of harbour, and by a moſt excellent paſſage got to Bollogne road in leſs than ſix hours; which port I deſired rather than Calais, as more obſcure, and of leſs correſpondence with Dover. My wife, and all the women, and little girl, was leſs ſick than I could imagine; but, ere I leave Dover, muſt mention how one or two of my ſervants fell there ſomething ill, which, though nothing at another time, after ſo unhappy an accident gave much diſturbance, and is mightily apt to work upon the mind, eſpecially where mens complections are melancholy; but, I thank God! my family was free enough of ſuch fancies.

It coſt me here, for myſelf and horſes, Saturday at night, Sunday, and Monday at dinner, 14 £. 10 ſ. and 12 £. more whilſt I was aboard the yacht, part of Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday; and in laying proviſion for the tranſport of my horſes, charges in ſhipping my horſes, with the duty paid for every head, beſides the cuſtoms of my horſes which I had free, came to 8 £. 10 ſ. Paid for two ſmall veſſels to tranſport my horſes 30 £. and given for pilotage of the veſſel out of harbour to the Captain of the yacht and his men, by way of gratuity, 20 £. By which accompt, it coſt me from London unto my arrival at Bollogne 90 £. 10 ſ.; of which I paid 58 £. 10 ſ. for hire of ſhips, harbour duties, and gratuities.

28. Being Thurſday, without any difficulty I was ſuffered to land, and went to the ſign of the Horn; and, by the help of a French ſhallop, for a piſtole, got my wife and all our paſſengers and goods houſed by eleven of the clock; and the ſame tide I got well into harbour one of the little veſſels with horſes, which were preſently landed: the greater veſſel, where were ten horſes and my coach, lay aground in the channel, about a mile from the town. It did much concern me to get from Bollogne before the news of the ill accident at Dover ſhould reach the place; and therefore I hired ſix carts, which coſt me but two crowns, and, by help of theſe, which drove to the ſide of the veſſel in about three feet water, I got the coach, horſes, and all accoutrements, aſhore by the cloſe of the day; but, as I was coming home, the guide miſtook his way, ſo that the coach and horſes were got into a quick-ſand, where the more they plunged the worſe it was. The tide came in apace, and it grew dark; moſt cried out for the ſending for the cart-horſes of the town. I had ſeen ſomething the experience of this in the like caſes, and putting my hands to the

wheels, after we had got out the horſes, with half a dozen luſty men more, we lifted out the coach and freed it, with ſo much delight to the men, that they drew it afterwards a good long way, all by hand, from the water ſide to the inn where I lodged. It coſt me here cuſtoms for fourteen horſes for each two piſtoles, and for two that were valued under thirty crowns for each one crown, and four piſtoles for my coach. All the expences, about embarking my coach, horſes, and drawing my coach out of the quick-ſands, came to about two piſtoles and a half. Here I found the people very reſpectful, much more than either at Callais or Deep. I made here three excellent meals, with all varieties; all ſorts of expences for this and my horſe amounting to ſixty livres.

29. About one in the afternoon I parted for Montrelle. At Bollogne I met with a very underſtanding French gentleman, that belonged to the Duke of Vernech, and had ſome place about the Duke of York, under the Maſter of the Buck-hounds. He did me the favour to ſerve as Maiſtre d'Hotelle in my way to Paris, which ſaved me ſome money and pains; and paſſing before, kept open the gates of Montrelle, where we were complimented by the Duke Delbeuf, and lodged at the Eagle d'or; made good chear for fifty livres.

30. To Abevilla in a rainy day, where I ſtayed Sunday, à la Teſte de Beuf, a dirty inn, like the place; but all being in theſe parts of Picardy dreſt at cooks, we made good chear for eighty-nine livres, beſides the expences of twenty ſols apiece to five under-ſervants, which I always paid ſince my coming into France.

Novemb. 1. We reached Poys, nine leagues from Abavilla; the very worſt place in our way from London to Tangier. In the way the coach over-turned, without any ill accident, though

though the little girl, my wife, and ſelf, were in the coach. Expences were forty-five livres.

2. We came to Beavoys, to the Golden Eagle, a very good houſe, all charges coming to fifty-five livres; and were well entertained with the ſight of an excellent cathedral, but not finiſhed, nine leagues from Poys.

3. We turned out of the road to Crelle; and in the way ſaw Leancourt, the moſt famous place for fountains and water-works. At Crelle, a fine old palace belonging to the Dukes of Nevers, we were extremely well entertained at the Royal Sword for ſixty livres; being eleven leagues from Paris.

4. We paſſed by Verneule, a beautiful houſe that belonged to the Duke thereof, adorned with a little, but exceeding pleaſant, park. The ſame day we paſſed to Chantilly, the ancient ſeat of the Dukes of Montmorency; a noble houſe, belonging now to the Prince of Conde, who had exceedingly adorned it with rivers, water-works, and fountains; ſituate in a park walled about for five leagues, and adjoining to a pleaſant foreſt; ſo that this may be reckoned among the nobleſt ſeats in the world. I never ſaw any might equal it, excepting Aronjueſſe, belonging to the Kings of Spain. We went three leagues farther to Lenſearch, where we were well entertained for forty-two livres.

5. We dined at St. Denis for twenty livres, and ſaw the reliques and tombs, and all that was remarkable in the cathedral, juſt as they were finiſhing their preparations for burying our King's mother. That night we got to Paris, lodging in a fair houſe taken for me, called l'Hotelle de Ville neuf, rue St. Andre deſers. I was here treated with two meals a day, and all variety, for fifty livres the day, beſides the board-wages to five, and the expence of my horſes; ſo that it coſt me near eight.

piſtoles

piſtoles a day at Paris, for ten days; in which time we ſaw Luxenburge, the Louvre, with the King of France's famous new buildings. I obſerved the ſtairs ſix inches in height and ſeventeen broad; the chimnies ſix feet long and four deep. We took a view of the new church, called Val de Grace, being a nunnery built by the late Queen of France, being a nunnery after the modern, and the church exceeding beautiful. Alſo Jeſuits, Noſtredames, the Charité, les Incurables, Petit Maiſon; and out of Paris, in one day, we ſaw the Duke of Orleans houſe at St. Cloud, and the fine houſe of pleaſure the King is building at Verſailes, which is a noble ſeat, and famous for the nurſery built in the park for fowl and all ſort of ſtrange creatures. That night we returned to Paris; and having the honour to receive viſits from Mr. Montague, the Ambaſſador, the Earl St. Albains, my Lord Arundel of Warder, the Ducheſs of Richmond, with ſeveral others of quality, I took my leave of this great city; where, caſting up my reckoning, I found, that from London to Paris I had ſpent 150 £. Engliſh money; of which 90 £. in extraordinaries, and 60 £. in expences of meat, &c. In eighteen days time at Paris it coſt me 160 £.; of which 70 £. for myſelf, ſervants, and horſes, and 90 £. in other diſburſements.

15. We parted from Paris, and lay at Corbeile, diſtant ſeven little leagues; our expence fifty-two livres.

16. We went to Beau Leviſcompt, an excellent houſe, garden, and water-works, begun by Monſ. Fouquet, in an excellent ſeat, much out of order, becauſe of the maſter's diſgrace; and the water-works forced, and not always running as at Leancourt and Chantilly. The ſame day we paſſed to Fountain Bleau. In the way eſcaped, by God's help, a mighty danger a mile from Veau: paſſing the bridge at Mellan, the coach

coach turned ſhort, and the wheel was within an inch or two at moſt of falling over the drawbridge, which muſt infallibly have caſt the coach into a deep ditch, with the loſs of my wife, child, and all that were dear to me. Beſides, the coachman was bad and diſtempered at the time. I was juſt behind the coach, and the conſideration of the danger gave me a long time much diſturbance, and made me afterwards watch the coach very narrowly; and I pray God, make me thankful for his providence, that protected me and mine! That night we were extremely well entertained at the Golden Lyon, at Fountain Bleau, fourteen leagues from Paris, at the expence of forty-nine livres.

17. We took a view of that moſt magnificent old houſe Fountain Bleau, belonging to the Kings of France, ſituate in a foreſt ſurrounded with rocks, which at ſome diſtance makes no bad proſpect. That night we went ten little leagues to Pleuier, being ten from Orleans, to the Crown (no good lodging), and but twenty leagues from Paris; but the way is in winter impaſſable for coaches. It coſt me forty-three livres.

18. We came to the beautiful city of Orleans, where we were exceeding well treated at the White Croſs, a Proteſtant houſe, but dear, for it coſt me ſixty livres.

19. This day we went to St. Laurens, eight leagues from Orleans. We lodged at the Image of our Lady. In the way, one of my ſervants' gun fired by accident, and the bullet paſſed juſt by the cheek of another, without harm. It coſt me here forty-two livres. The beſt, and one of the beſt inns in France, is at the Three Kings; which houſe I did decline, becauſe I was told the woman was ſo ſuperſtitious, ſhe would let us have no fleſh, it being Friday; and ſome of my company were not well, and could not paſs without it.

20. We

20. We got eight little leagues farther to Bloys, and lodged at the Gallere, an excellent inn, and where was one of the beſt chambers I ever came into for ſuch a houſe, a fair new damaſk bed, and all proportionable. Here we viſited my young Lady Northumberland, fair and beautiful, and ſuited to her quality; left here by her Lord, who was gone into Italy. We met alſo here one Sir Rich. Atkins and his Lady, a ſon of Mr. Wil. Pierpont, and a kinſman of my own, one Mr. Vane, who honoured us with their viſits. It coſt me here in two days one hundred livres.

22. We got to Ambois, my wife and niece both being ill; ten leagues; but little famous for a pair of great ſtag's horns, to be ſeen in the caſtle; lodged at the Crown well for thirty-two livres.

23. We went eight long leagues to Mantelan in bad way. Lodged well at the Fountain for thirty-four livres: my wife and niece yet ill.

24. Carried us eight long leagues farther to Chattelroe, where the Proteſtants have a church in the town. We lay at the White Horſe in the ſuburbs. It coſt me thirty-ſix livres.

25. To Poitiers, ſeven leagues, ſandy way. We lodged at the Three Pillars, a reaſonable good houſe, where I reſted the 26th, to the recovery of my wife, her niece ſtill complaining. Here it coſt me ninety livres.

27. Carried us to Luſignian, five leagues. Lodged at the Three Pillars; a good houſe. Expence forty livres.

28. We went to St. Legers, a village, where the meat was excellent, and the wine good. Coſt thirty-eight livres.

29. We got this day, part of which proved rainy, to Varez, a ſmall village, accounted but ſeven, though it be eight long

leagues from St. Legers. Lodged ill; but among a poor willing people. My niece ſo weak, I feared her paſſing farther.

30. We paſſed Equinoys, the uſual ſtage from St. Legers, and made ſhift to get, by God's bleſſing, eight leagues farther, to Ponts, a pretty town, and ſtored with apothecaries and phyſicians. Entering the town, my wife fell ill of a violent flux, my niece of a great fever, and one of the maids of a conſumptive hectic fever; one of my men had got a quartan ague, and another was taken with a vomiting; ſo that my whole family was in a manner ſick; lodged in an inconvenient houſe, without hangings, and the rooms only thinly floored, and over a cellar; and this happening in the midſt of winter, the moſt ſharp that I have known, made it difficult to overcome the cold by continual great fires. My wife's illneſs abated after a day and night, with about twelve hours intermiſſion, and then began with more violence: but, by the help of often taking the red powder, in two other days was cured of the looſeneſs. But my niece's fever continued with many ill ſigns; ſhe was let blood five times, and eſcaped by the great care of an excellent phyſician, one Monſ. Rangar, who attended with a continued diligence; but my wife, being late up with her niece, caught ſuch a cold and ſore throat, with frequent inclinations to vomit, that for many days ſhe was very ill, though rather reſtleſs than ſick; and was taken after ſo odd a manner, that the doctor could judge it nothing but the ills of a breeding woman, which was alſo confirmed by all other uſual ſigns. This held her in her chamber, and much of the time in bed, for fifteen days, living only on broth. On the 21ſt of December, Mary Spark died of her hectic fever; was buried the next day, with the Engliſh ſervice, in the Pro-

teſtant church-yard, who live here with great freedom, and make up the better part of the town.

December the 25. My wife had ſtrength to be carried to her coach, and found herſelf better with the air, and cleared from an oppreſſion ſhe had to breathe and vapours. Her niece being better, all reſolved to endeavour to reach Bourdeaux, and part towards it next day after but one, having reſted twenty-ſeven nights in Pont, which coſt me, for my own expences and horſes, about 100 £. Engliſh, and 45 £. in phyſic and like expences; ſo that all ways I reckoned my expences here about 5 £. ſterling the day. Upon the death of this maid, I got another Engliſh ſervant from Bourdeaux, and hired an experienced French coachman.

27. We left Pont in the coach, five women and my little girl, drawn by my ſix horſes, eight men on horſeback, beſides the ſumpter-horſe. That night we got to Petit Nor, and lodged at the Fountain; expences thirty-eight livres. Here my little girl, who had complained for three or four days, grew worſe with breeding teeth, and the moſt cold ſharp ſeaſon that had been known.

28. We got to Blay; lodged well at the Golden Lion. We found the river ſo frozen as had not been in many years, which kept us at Blay, without any poſſibility of ſtirring; my wife and niece very weak, and my little girl ſo ill, I thought I ſhould have loſt her. Here we continued till Wedneſday the 5th of January; expences about 4 £. the day, Engliſh money.

Jan. 5. We paſſed to Bourdeaux, and met, for three leagues, the worſt paſſage we had ſeen in our journey; for we were in a boat with ten oars, and had beſides two men continually breaking the ice, for the river was ſo frozen, we could not otherwiſe paſs; notwithſtanding that it had thawed, and ſeve-

tal days with rain, yet great was the ſhoals of ice. I lodged here in a private houſe, which was taken for me by M. Thomſon, in the Rue Port au Barrat: no very good lodging; which, however, coſt me ten piſtoles for twelve days. My expences came to ſixty piſtoles; beſides, in wine, plate, and drougues, two hundred and forty piſtoles; ſo that my expences in Bourdeaux came in all to three hundred piſtoles, of which about one hundred and twenty in wine ſent to friends in England. This is an excellent town to eat and drink well in; but has the worſt inns of any great city that I ever lodged in.

17. We left Bourdeaux, and met, for a league out of town, the worſt coach-way we ever ſaw in our journey, which happened becauſe of multitude of wine-carts that had broken the way, and no care taken for their repair. We got that day eight leagues to a poſt-houſe, called La Barque. Good entertainment for thirty-two livres.

18. We got to another poſt-houſe at Lupoſtois, but worſe than the former. Here it coſt me thirty-three livres; eight leagues.

19. To La Hurry, another poſt-houſe like the former; where it coſt thirty livres.

20. To like houſe at Mayſs; coſt me thirty-one livres.

21. We got to St. Vincent, which is reckoned but four leagues, where we were as well lodged and treated as in any part of our journey. The beſt claret I have taſted, called Vin de Sable; ſomewhat dear, for it coſt forty-five livres. The hoſt was a knowing man, and had ſerved as Maiſtre d'Hotelle to an Ambaſſador.

22. Carried us five leagues farther to Bayone, where I was nobly entertained by my good friend Mr. John Weſtcomb, Merchant, citizen of the place, and deſcended from an ancient family

family in England. Here I ſtayed five nights. It coſt me, in preparations for my Spaniſh journey, fifty piſtoles; and I gave Mr. Weſtcomb, for his kindneſs, the choice of a horſe; and I ſold my coach and ſix horſes for one hundred and fifty piſtoles, which was near the rate they coſt in England. Here I met three lictures and three ſpare mules, and a man to each, which I had writ for to Madrid; and alſo three other ſpare mules, with a man upon one of them, for my baggage. The three lictures coſt 10½ pieces of eight the day, and the three mules for baggage two pieces of eight; ſo that this charge was twelve pieces of eight each day. We fitted the licture with quilts and pillows, and the women and child paſſed in them, and ſome of our baggage; but I was yet forced to hire four horſes for carriage of my baggage to Irû, the frontier of Spain, which coſt me thirty-five livres, though it be but thirty leagues. I had with me of my ſaddle horſes only ſix, which, with the ſpare horſes, carried myſelf and Mr. Sherwin, a Frenchman that waited in my chamber and had the ſeveral languages, one that ſerved as groom of the chamber, whoſe care was every night to ſet up the beds, a cook, a caterer, a farrier who was ſmith and groom, and another groom; ſo that my whole company, as I entered Spain, conſiſted of ſix women-kind, eight men, ſix ſaddle-horſes, three lictures, to each three mules and a man, three ſaddle-mules and a man, and four ſumpter-horſes, and a man with them; which makes of mules and horſes twenty-two, of men fourteen, women ſix.

27. I left Bayon this day, and paſſed to St. John de Luz, accounted but three leagues; but bad way, and hilly by the coaſt. Lay well at the poſt-houſe; being, however, one of the deareſt houſes in France; coſt me fifty livres: and I paid, as well to the maſter of the poſt-houſe here, as to the two next,

two

two pieces of eight for each licture, as a duty claimed by theſe three laſt poſts.

28. We paſſed the river that divides the kingdoms of France and Spain, near the ſmall iſland memorable for the conference of the two Kings at the marriage of his preſent Chriſtian Majeſty. The paſſage of the river, with what I gave the ſearchers, coſt me twenty-five livres; and that night we got to Irû, not above a mile from the river, the firſt town in Spain, and memorable for ſeveral interviews in ſight of Fons Araby, and accounted but two long leagues from St. John de Luz. We were well lodged, but dear; for it coſt me here twenty-two pieces of eight, and in gratuity to the ſearchers, and thoſe belonging to the inquiſition, ten pieces of eight.

29. We got to Erania; found bad way, and no good lodging. From Irû I hired four mules and a man, which did carry my equipage to Victoria, at 4½ pieces of eight the day, for five days, and three days allowed the return. Here it coſt me ſeven pieces of eight the man, reckoning for beds half a royal plate for each, and a piece of eight for the uſe of the houſe; other things we bought in the market at the beſt penny and eſtabliſhed rate allowed by the Juſtice, which is the cuſtom of Spain, and good for ſtrangers. This was but four leagues.

30. Three leagues from Erania we paſſed Toleſa, a pretty clean town, and lay at Villa Franca, three leagues beyond Toleſa, where we were well entertained for ten pieces of eight. This day's journey was ſtony, by a river ſide, moſt cauſeway; and I was eight hours going the ſix leagues.

31. We paſſed Villa Reall, and got to Ogmity, five leagues; an univerſity, neat and well built; but full of thieves, as are moſt places of Biſcay. Coſt twelve pieces of eight.

Feb.

Feb. 1. We paſſed farther four little leagues to Salina, a poor town, where we were neither ill-lodged nor entertained; but my wife taken ill in the night with vomiting. We had excellent roaſt beef, rabbits, and poultry. In the way we paſſed Montdragon, a clean little town. At the bottom is a high hill of the ſame name, running up with a top round, ſharp, and like a ſugar-loaf, of white ſtone, and to be ſeen very far.

2. We got but three leagues to Victoria; a fair city, and beyond all the hills of Biſcay. By the horſe-way they paſs Mont Adrian in two little days journey from Irû. The way for lictures and coaches is two days about; in many places narrow, ſtony, and full of hills; yet not ſo bad as it is reported to be. With care, a light coach may paſs without the help of oxen to draw up any of thoſe paſſes; but it is neceſſary to have a couple of men with pick-axes, to mend the ways in ſtony and bad places. Victoria is ſituate in a pleaſant plain, ſurrounded with abundance of villages. Here thoſe that paſs, eſpecially outwards, muſt be careful to carry nothing that is not entered; for the guards of the cuſtoms are extreme ſtrict, and make it their buſineſs to moleſt ſtrangers. Here we were well-lodged in a room that had a chimney, which was very ſeaſonable after two days journey in ſnow and rain. It coſt me in the houſe thirty-four pieces of eight. I could not perſuade the Spaniard that I was not an Ambaſſador; and this made them give me great reſpect; and they appraiſed my ſix horſes but one hundred and fifty pieces of eight, which I would ſcarce have taken for the worſt of them; and this to favour me in the cuſtoms, horſes paying the tenth of their value.

3. We got, in a bad ſnowy day, ſix leagues of bad way to Myrandu, ſituated on Iberus. We were well-lodged, but all ill

with

with the head-ach, from the charcoal fire. It coſt me fourteen pieces of eight.

4. In an exceeding moiſt ſnowy day we paſſed to Vevieſca, eight leagues; a good houſe, where it coſt me thirteen pieces of eight.

5. We hoped to reach Burgos; but becauſe of the exceeding bad weather, and continuing ſnow, which made the paſſage dangerous for the lictures, that fell, and had almoſt been loſt in the ſnow, to our retardment in diſengaging them: we could not get but five leagues to Kinta de la Pallia di las Tores, an ordinary, where, however, we made good chear, and had tolerable accommodation: coſt ſixteen pieces of eight.

6. We could not go, becauſe of the very bad weather, more than three leagues, to the ancient city of Burgos, where we viſited the famous great church built by an Engliſhman, Biſhop of the place, and reſembling our cathedrals, who lies interred in the choir of the church. About a good mile from Burgos, is a renowned convent of the Carthuſians, where King John the Second and his wife lie interred. They ſhew an ancient picture upon cedar of great value, ſuppoſed to be done by Raphael Urban. At Burgos we were well-lodged, and detained for ſix nights, in which time it coſt me all ways eighty pieces of eight.

12. We parted from Burgos, got ſeven leagues to Lerma, which is ſituate on a river that runs into Druerus. Here is a caſtle built by the Cardinal Favourite, and has a good inn.

13. The day being rainy, we got but five leagues, and paſſed the night in very bad lodgings at Gomiell.

14. Two leagues from Gomiell we paſſed . . . . . ſituated upon the river Druerus, over which is a fair bridge; the town large, but old-built. That night we got in all five leagues to

Anrubia,

Anrubia, a ſmall village, where were ſeveral inns, and reaſonable Spaniſh accommodation.

15. We got eight leagues to Suma Sierra, a ſmall village in the Puerto; the laſt league almoſt impaſſable, becauſe of the ſnow. Here it pleaſed God to preſerve my little girl, and thoſe in the litter, from the danger of a fall down a ſteep hill, and afterwards thoſe in another litter that fell. We met with bad lodging; but the ſnow and bad ſeaſon made all things appear the worſe.

16. We got ſeven leagues out of the Puerto to Cavanillia: a very good cleanly inn.

17. We got ſix leagues, to Alcovendas, a houſe of good accommodation.

18. A league from Alcovendas we were met at Fuen Carroll by Sir William Godolphin, Sir Benjamin Wright, Mr. Goddard, and Paulin; and here were entertained by Sir William Godolphin, in whoſe coach we paſſed to Madrid, diſtant two leagues: in the way met by Sir William Gaſker, a Scotch gentleman of great reputation in the Spaniſh camp. It coſt me ſeventy pieces of eight from Burgos to Madrid.

19. Being my wedding-day, though newly come to Madrid, I entertained the ſame company, in lodgings that were entertained for me in Callia de Silva, where I was exceedingly well lodged, in a new houſe and new furniture, taken for a month, which was a great refreſhment after the ill time we had met with: and here we found very good beer, made upon the place, which was mightily improved by the help of ſome Engliſh bottles I brought with me. Whilſt we reſted at Madrid, we ſaw a beautiful church, new-built, and dedicated to the patron of the city, called Sancto Cydro, and a houſe of the King's, called the Retiro, adjoining the town, and well furniſhed with

 pictures;

pictures; but eſpecially remarkable for many canals of water, and a great pond, brought at exceſſive charges to the top of a hill. We ſaw the palace, which is full of excellent pictures of greateſt maſters; but eſpecially of the hand of Titian.

26. Being Wedneſday, we were greatly entertained by Sir William Godolphin, with choice muſic and excellent voices; ſome Spaniſh gentlemen and their wives being at the ceremony, on purpoſe that my wife might ſee their habits and dreſs.

March the 1ſt. I went in a coach, I bought of the executors of the Marquis Salina, to the Eſcurial, with ſeveral Engliſh. This is the famous monaſtery, ſeven leagues from Madrid, dedicated to St. Laurence; the deſcription of which fills a thick book in folio, and is, I think, of any one thing the beſt worthy to be ſeen; filled with abundance of riches, beſides pictures of the beſt maſters, of which ſix there are of Raphael Urban; but what is ſtrangely remarkable is, that the whole fabric is all built of maſſy and great ſtones, without any ſmall filling-ſtones.

4. We went to ſee the Pardo, a country-houſe of the King's, four leagues from Madrid, ſituate in a foreſt, and by a river.

6. We ſaw the Admiral of Caſtile's houſe, remarkable for the fountain and ſtatues in the garden, and for the iron balluſtrades, which I obſerved not elſewhere ſo well; the ſtaircaſe was adorned with brazen heads, that are faſtened upon pedeſtals ſet in the wall.

14. I parted from Madrid, hiring a galera or waggon to carry my baggage, which had ſix mules and four men, beſides two ſpare mules, to aſſiſt as occaſion required; for which I paid two piſtoles by the day to Sevilla, without allowing any thing for the return. A ſingle mule uſually coſts twelve royals villion

by

by the day, and they allow for the return nine days. A piece of eight was worth 22 royals villion, and a piſtole eighty. We went a little out of the great road which paſſes by Toledo, and lodged at Valdemaura, four leagues, where it coſt me three piſtoles, in a houſe of good entertainment.

15. We dined in a bad houſe at Servias, remarkable for the wines about it, and eſpecially the large cellars cut in a rock under-ground, into ſeveral alleys, in the ſides of which, in convenient places wrought out of the rock, are great jars of ſtone, each of which may hold about four tons of wine, and in all may contain about two thouſand ton; but in winter the wine is moſt commonly kept in another cellar above ground, and over the former, in twenty large veſſels, each of which, by my computation, might contain from ſixteen to twenty tons of wine. From hence we went to lie at Aronjues, diſtant three leagues, leaving this country, which is ſituate in a moſt rich ſoil, full of vines, corn, and olives.

Aronjues is the ſeat of the Kings of Spain for a month in ſummer, moſt famous for the faireſt elm-walks that can be found any where elſe, which they ſay were brought out of England by Philip the Second. There are about thirty fair fountains, adorned with excellent ſtatues, one of which is held ſo ancient as to be of the hand of the Tagus running by the garden, which is full of cloſe walks, ſituated in a foreſt, and might, I think, ſurpaſs any other place for water-works, if beautified with equal art. One of the fountains plays with about one thouſand ſmall pipes; and the large elm-walk is twenty-five yards broad, beautified on each with narrower walks, and being about two miles in length. Hence we went two leagues,

16. To Ochania, where the preſent Don Juan was born; remarkable for a fountain at which five hundred women may conveniently waſh.

17. Dined at Pierta, two leagues; thence three farther, to Tembleca, a pretty town, where we were well lodged, paſſing moſt of the day through a very garden of vines, corn, and olives.

18. We paſſed a great plain, without meeting a houſe, to Conſegru, where we were well lodged, being but five leagues.

19. We dined three leagues, at a ſmall Venta; thence two more to Viſiarto.

20. Thence the like journey to Membrillia, a good town, and where we ſtocked ourſelves with wine and mutton, for the Sierra Morena.

21. We paſſed five leagues to a Venta; thence three long leagues more to La Torre de Juan Abad, where, though the Venta be bad, we met very good lodging at a private houſe, which does admit of perſons of quality. Detained here one day becauſe of the floods, which made a ſmall brook impaſſable, which runs a league off, at the very entrance of the Sierra Morena.

23. We paſſed the ſaid river with difficulty, and met three leagues of hilly, ſtony, and bad way: but the hills ſtrewed with all aromatic flowers, as wild roſemary, mirli, &c. We got that night to a ſmall Venta de St. Andres, dining in the way at another.

24. We paſſed over an extraordinary bad bridge on foot, and not far off a bad river, becauſe of the floods. Got that night to Lenares, a good town, juſt out of the Sierra Morena, famous for lead mines; eight leagues.

25.

25. Paſſing a moſt pleaſant and beautiful country, full of vallies and rivers, and all delightful proſpects, got five leagues to Anducar, a great city upon the river Adalquinir, over which paſſes an excellent ſtone bridge.

26. We were forced to ſtop ſeven leagues, at Reravar, a place not uſed, not being able to reach the famous Venta del Carpio, which was a league farther; near which is a very remarkable engine for lifting up of water by a wheel, which is forty-five feet in diameter, built by Don Luis de Haro upon the river Guadalgnivir, and goes night and day.

27. We dined at Venta Daliolea, where the king has ſtables, filled with the beſt ſtallions, and a large company of brood mares; then to Corduba, being a journey of ſix leagues, paſſing a noble bridge.

At Corduba is a large church, of about one hundred yards in ſquare, well worth the ſeeing, from the uncouth building made by the Moors for a Moſca. Here are the King's famous ſtables; but the largeſt breed is three miles off, at old Corduba, where there are above two hundred brood mares. Over the river is an excellent old ſtone bridge.

28. We dined five leagues at a Venta, and got three more that night to Uſica, a great city, famous for its bridge, breed of horſes, and great abundance of oil.

29. Dining at a Venta, got nine leagues to Cordova. This city is built upon a hill, and has ſuch an uſual coming to it by coach, that, when almoſt at the walls of the town, we were forced to fetch a compaſs of five miles ere we could reach the hill.

30. Dining again at another ſmall Venta, we got ſeven leagues farther, to Sevilla, being met in the way by the Gentlemen of our Factory, who came in ſeveral coaches. We

lodged

lodged at the houſe of Mr. Bathurſt, &c. who had fitted it nobly, and did entertain us extremely well, and alſo my mules and horſes, being every day treated by the Gentlemen of the Factory, that live in a noble manner; the chief of the houſes being Mr. Frederick and Duncomb, Mr. Goddard and Sytwell, Mr. Pridome, with the ſaid Mr. Bathurſt, &c. being all Gentlemen of good families. We ſtayed here eight nights, ſeeing the King's houſe and garden, the great church, and new pariſh church adjoining the ancient aqueduct, and two pillars of Roman antiquity; the city being ſeated in a delicious and fruitful plain.

April 7. Being Thurſday, I ſent my coach and ſaddle-horſes by land, and went myſelf, with the women, &c. by river, in a boat, towards St. Lucar, which journey I had formerly made in one day. We were two nights upon the water, which we paſſed reaſonably well, the boats being covered and convenient; but the laſt night, anchoring near ſome reeds, were exceſſively bit with the muſkeeto, a ſmall fly or gnat.

9. We arrived at St. Lucar about twelve of the clock; but, becauſe of the ſurf that ran, could not land at the town, but, as is very frequent, about half a league above it; where a coach met and carried me to town, and we lodged at one Tucker's, an Engliſhman's houſe.

10. We parted from St. Lucar; my wife, her woman, my niece, and ſelf, in a coach that I borrowed; the child, nurſe, and other women, in the litter. My own coach I ſold at Sevilla, with two of my mules, for the money they coſt. Being a clay country, and ſome violent rains having fallen, made the ways unpaſſable for the coach, which we were forced to ſend back; and therefore, putting my wife, with the girl and nurſe, in the litter, we took the three other women, and ſet them behind

the men on the horſes, and ſo paſſed well to Porta Santa Maria, which is but three leagues from St. Lucar, where I was exceeding well lodged in a country-houſe, which Mr. Weſtcombe, the Conſul, lent me, brother to him of Bayonne. Here we were happy to meet Sir Edward Sprag with his ſquadron, who gave me a viſit, and promiſed to convey us with the next winds to Tangier.

13. We removed to Conſul Weſtcomb's houſe in Cadiz, where we were well entertained by him and his lady, and from whence I diſpatched ſeveral letters into England.

14. We went aboard his Majeſty's ſhip the Revenge, where Sir Edward Sprag had made kind preparations, and did entertain us very nobly for two days we lay in harbour by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather.

17. We ſailed towards Tangier with calm and fair day, having been from London upon this journey ſix months within two days; and having ſpent, what in preparations before-hand, and extraordinary entertainment of ſervants at Tangier and elſewhere, near 1500 £. which I reckon to be about 300 £. more than what I ſpend in my uſual way of living.

April 18. Being Monday, I arrived at Tangier, and received the compliments of thoſe in the place. I went to viſit my Lord Howard, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to Taffalet; who returned the viſit immediately, and came to ſee me and my wife. My Lord Middleton being ſick, I ſent to compliment him, in return of the ſame civility, and his kindneſs in ſaluting me at landing with the guns of the town. His Excellency's illneſs kept me from ſeeing him this day: the following was ſpent in compliments.

19, 20. I ſpent in taking a general view of all the Mole affairs, &c. which his Majeſty had left to my care.

21.

21. I viſited my Lord Middleton, and had much diſcourſe with him. He kept his chamber, being ill of the colic, a diſtemper he was inclined to. I was glad to find his Excellency's kindneſs to our work and to my perſon, becauſe I had reaſon to have in ſuſpicion ill offices from a perſon induſtrious to ſet us at variance. My Lord was of a generous nature; and found many ill reports, raiſed of myſelf and my officers, came from faction and envy. This was the beginning of a good underſtanding between me and my Lord, which I wanted not to foment by Major Taylor, who had wrought himſelf well into my Lord's favour, as by Major Wickham and Captain Giles, perſons very well with my Lord, and perfectly true to me.

22. I made a more narrow inquiry into the ſtate of our affairs; and was glad to find all the officers ſo fitly appropriated to their reſpective charges; and that the whole did move in ſo good a method and order.

23. I took a view of the ſtores, and found them full; and that the work wanted nothing neceſſary.

24. I was very exact in ſearching the damages that had happened to the Mole the two paſt winters. I found plainly that the foundations ſtood firm under water, which was ſtrengthened by the breaches; that theſe only happened from low-water mark upwards to the outſide. I found, according to my firſt obſervation, that the ſtone did not impair from the ſeas, but from beating one againſt another; and that, where the ſtone was ſecure againſt agitation, it got a green moſs, and was preſerved by the water, rather than otherwiſe.

25. I paſſed chiefly in private debates with Major Taylor, about every part of this affair. I found him agreeing with myſelf, as to the impoſſibility of building a Mole here in any reaſonable time with cheſts; but alſo very deſponding as to the doing

it

it in the way of our practice, becauſe of the continual ſeas and tempeſts, which he ſaid would not ſuffer the tarrace to ſet and harden. I aſked his opinion as to the uſe of piles to protect our work; which he approved of, but doubted how they could be drove into a body of ſtone. I ſaid, "That, becauſe of the ſoft nature of the ſtone, I thought it very practicable; but that, if it were found difficult, I could place theſe piles in a frame, and bury them three feet under water; which was according to what I had practiſed, and found piles thus ſecured would be ſufficient againſt the violence of the ſeas." This the Major did very much approve of; but we concluded it was beſt firſt to make ſome farther eſſay in driving piles, becauſe thus placed did better ſecure the foundation. I debated further with the Major, concerning the making thoſe rocks or pillars at preſent uſed; which he liked well, but could not apprehend how they were to be made; and was more unſatisfied, becauſe, upon diſcourſe with Mr. Shere, he did extremely ſlight this way of pillars, to whom, I writ the Major, I had explained the dimenſions and way of them. In a few words I did deſcribe the making theſe pillars to the Major, with which he ſeemed extremely well ſatisfied; and immediately we gave order for the making one of them, by way of trial.

25. I ſpent in adjuſting accompts between myſelf, Major Taylor, and Mr. Macmath.

27. We had our firſt meeting at the Mole-office, where I ſwore the principal officers (Major Taylor, Major Wickham, Mr. Shere, Sam. Bolland, Rich. Bolland, Sandford, Jacob Hudſon, Whitaker); and methodiſed our orders for iſſues and pay, and ſwore the Store-keepers and Muſter-maſter.

28. I ordered Giles Carey to Guelna, to buy ſome timber for piles. From this day to the 4th of May I ſpent much of

my time in perfecting all accompts with Major Taylor and Mr. Macmath, and in preparing my letters and inſtruction for Major Taylor's diſpatches for England.

May 4. This day Major Taylor embarked in the Roebuck for Cadiz, in order to his paſſage for England. He carried the inventory of ſtores, as taken on the 20th of November, according to order, with the accompt of expences at Tangiers, from January preceding to that day, with my letters to the King and Duke, which did the Major all right, as alſo my Lord General, who had the Major in good eſteem, notwithſtanding all contrary contrivance; and, by the Major and my couſin Wickham's endeavours, there began a very good underſtanding between me and my Lord Middleton.

5, 6, 7. We ſpent upon the uſual daily ſervice of bringing ſtones to the great Mole, in forwarding a great mine for blowing up ſtones, in preparing ſtones for more pillars, and in laying the foundation of a ſecond pillar.

8. Being Sunday, came into the Road a Dutch man of war; who, by order of the States, ſent to compliment my Lord General, from Vangant, Admiral of the Squadron.

9, 10, 11. Were three days very tempeſtuous, from an Eaſt wind, that came much in guſts, exceeding fiercely. We made a ſhift, by working in the water, to lay the foundations of two other pillars, at which I was uſually preſent: paſſing in the morning to Whitby, I ended my courſe upon the Mole, and choſe to make this round at uncertain hours. This day, continuing tempeſtuous, was chiefly ſpent in the uſual work of carrying ſtones, and about the pillars.

13. Proved calm. The Levant abating, we got a ſecond courſe to one of our pillars.

14.

14. In my rounds I found ſeveral officers ill with colds; ſo that there was neceſſity to ſupply the work with more officers. At the great Mole I found the violence of the Eaſt ſeas had diſordered the tarrace work of the laſt pillar, and had ſhaken one of the corner ſtones, which came as well from want of one of the croſs bars, as that the iron pins were not ſoldered with lead, but only ſet in tarrace with the ſea, ſucked out. All I could do was, to rectify theſe ſtones, and to get ſome ſtones placed in the third courſe of the ſaid pillar, and to ſecure all from the approaching ſeas, which came with the Levant again as tempeſtuous as it had been moſt of this week. The reſt of the day I ſpent in viſiting Mr. Shere and Mr. Taylor, both ill with colds; a general diſtemper, occaſioned from the frequent change of weather, and being expoſed to the heats and wind.

15. Being Sunday, was ſpent in the uſual devotions of the day, the wind continuing ſtill a mere tempeſt Eaſterly.

16, 17. The wind was much abated. We made an end of our ſecond great pillar or rock, built for the protection of the Mole, Mr. Burhil arriving about noon with my Lord Howard's diſpatches to return for England.

18. The wind was high and Eaſterly, and the height of a neap tide, ſo that we did little work; the day being alſo employed in entertaining my Lord Ambaſſador with a muſter and view of the regiment, where I told 1328 common ſoldiers on the field, beſides officers and drummers, which, with thoſe upon guard in the forts and caſtle, I judged a ſufficiency to balance the eſtabliſhment. Theſe men were excellent ſoldiers, as uſed to labour, and many among them maſons and artificers, and almoſt all pioneers.

19, 20. The Levant continued ſtill, to the prejudice of our work: we got in a pile, and brought ſtones as uſually.

21. Brought in a conſiderable ſea from a S.W. wind; yet we did ſome work, both as to the ſecuring of our third pillar and driving in two piles, which were about ſixteen feet long, and went ſeven feet in length into the foundation, being driven at about four feet diſtance one from the other; ſo that another row left but a ſmall vacancy, was of great uſe, to hinder the ſpreading of the foundation, and in ſeveral other reſpects.

22. Being Whit-Sunday, was ſpent in the uſual ſervices of the day; my wife and ſelf accompanying my Lord General in receiving the holy communion, where I obſerved were not three officers of the garriſon, the whole number of communicants being about thirty-three.

23. Notwithſtanding the holiday, we wrought at the ſpring tide, clearing the foundation with triangles for more pillars; but were much hindered from a S.W. ſurf of the ſea.

24. The night preceding proved very rainy, which is held unwholeſome in theſe parts, and the cauſe of much vermin. I lent, by my Lord's leave, the new brigantine, to convey Sir Francis Beddingfield to Suta. This was bought for five hundred and eighty pieces of eight, kept at ſmall charge, and was a mighty ſecurity to the trade of the port.

25, 26. We had fair weather, and proceeded as uſually upon our pillars and other work.

27, 28. Was alſo fair, only it rained a little by ſhowers, and more in the night. The 28th came a Levant, and about forty-eight ſhips were ſeen coming out of the Streights, under convoy of Sir John Harman, who, with Captain Darcy, came into the Road.

29. Being Sunday, and his Majeſty's birth-day, we cloſed with the uſual feſtival ceremonies of bonfires upon the Town and Mole, and by firing all the guns of the place.

30. Proved calm; the Levant abating, we wrought at our pillars, &c.

31. Was fair, and we continued our uſual progreſs. This day my Lord, in diſcovering the ground which he did deſign to mow out of the lines, expoſed his perſon to ſome dangers, by riding a little to call back ſome of the horſe ſcouts that had placed themſelves farther than my Lord had ordered; when a party of the enemy's horſe, by the advantage of the bottoms, got between the ſcouts and my Lord, killed two of the ſcouts, and took the third priſoner; my Lord, with fourteen more, making a ſtand, ſo that the enemy durſt not attempt him: and we did bring off the dead bodies, and found a horſe of the enemy's killed with an alhague, and much blood, which made us conclude that they had an equal loſs.

I obſerve my Lord Middleton does act with much more caution than my Lord Teviot uſed to do; yet, out of deſire to know the ground, does ſometimes a little expoſe his perſon.

June 1ſt. The Dutch Admiral Vangant paſſed into the Streights with his ſquadron, ſaluting the Caſtle with nine guns. A frigate coming into the Road, I ſent to compliment the Captain, and invite him on the Mole. I deſired them to obſerve the depth of water parallel to the Mole-head, which was about fifteen feet at low water, at which they ſeemed ſomething ſurpriſed; but more, when coming upon the Mole, and viewed the length and breadth of it; and ſaid, "Without compariſon, it was the moſt noble Mole in the world." The gentlemen dined with my Lord, and told us, "They had expreſs

preſs orders from the States, to ſhew all manner of reſpect and civility to this place."

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Was continually ſtormy with Levants. Beſides the uſual progreſs of the Mole in bad weather, there paſſed little that was remarkable, except my Lord Ambaſſador ſending for his goods to Sallee, and the ſafe coming of them to Tangier.

20. Was exceeding calm. Sir John Harman, in the St. David, and Captain Darcy, in the Dartmouth, coming to anchor in the Road; and about noon the Dutch Admiral paſſing by, and again ſaluting the place from the offing. This day our two brigantines, commanded by Captain Giles and Captain Bolland, upon ſome intelligence, paſſed to the Weſtward. I viſited Sir John Harman at night, and found him very ill of the gout.

21. Continuing ſtill fair, we wrought upon the pillars, and brought great and ſmall ſtones, and drove piles, according to our uſual cuſtom.

22. Our brigantines paſſed early to the Eaſt. Our progreſs at the Mole was as the day before; and,

23. Continued the ſame in all reſpects.

24. The Moors, according to their uſual cuſtom, did celebrate this feaſt with waſhing their horſe and cattle in the ſea, to the number, as I judged, of about one thouſand horſe. Captain Liddall, in the Roebuck, went near, and diſperſed them by firing ſome guns. In the evening our two brigantines returned, giving an account of all the creeks on the African ſide as far as Suta. On the 3d they met with two ſatias, putting out red, which is a colour the Turks uſe. They laſhed themſelves both together, and put all their men aboard one veſſel, intending to defend themſelves againſt ours, which they took

took for Turks. We fired a ſhot to command them, and they fired into the brigantines, wounding one of our men; and as they did this, put out their Genoa colours. This paſſed upon the coaſt of Spain, near Teriffa, where the tides run ſo ſtrong, all the boats were like to be caſt away, ſo that they were forced all to anchor. The Genoa veſſels being under protection of the Spaniſh guns, ſought it of the Governor of Teriffa, which he granted by putting 300 men aboard. Ours demanded them as prize, for fighting under the Turks colours; which the Genoeſe excuſed, as being a flag of defiance. The Governor was mighty complimental, and promiſed all juſtice and examination of the matter; but made his particular profit on the occaſion from goods in the veſſel, which came without paying cuſtoms, with ſeveral goods from Cadiz. Our brigantines were received with all applauſe upon the Spaniſh coaſt and at Gibraltar, as a great protection to thoſe poor people, that live in daily apprehenſion of Algerine and Mooriſh embarkations.

About eleven at night Sir John Harman, Captain Darcy, and Captain Foulis, went with a fair wind towards Sallee, being ſent, upon my Lord Ambaſſador's motion, to beat down one of the Moor's Caſtles. At the Mole, as the preceding day.

25. Mr. Wollaſton returned from Tetuan, having ſold the things my Lord Ambaſſador ſent, and redeemed thirteen captives. He brought word of five brigantines from Algiers, and of three from Tetuan, that were upon the coaſt, manned but thinly, from thirty to thirty-five men. Our work at the Mole was ſtill the ſame. The ſeaſon indifferent fair, yet not without a conſiderable ſurf at the ſide of the Mole.

26. Continued the ſame.

27. It rained early in the morning, and ſo continued until ten of the clock, when it rained hard by ſhowers, not very uſual in theſe parts. This month did alſo begin with ſome ſmall ſhowers. We wrought at the Mole, according to our uſual cuſtom.

28. Continued the ſame progreſs of work, with ſome mere agitation of the ſeas.

29. This day arrived from England the victuallers and ſome ſtores for the Mole, under convoy of Captain Young and Captain Allington. By theſe I received a letter from the Lords Commiſſioners, of the 14th of May, taking notice of the bad condition of the Mole; and commanding me to proceed according to the reſults of the town. At the Mole our affairs paſſed as uſually in ſummer.

30. The like progreſs of work.

July 1. We continued our work at the Mole, upon the pillars and piles, &c.

2. The reſpective officers of the Garriſon and Mole, with the principal members of the Corporation, and in the preſence of the Lord Ambaſſador and Lord Middleton, conſidered an anſwer to the letter which I received from the Lords Commiſſioners; which was much in favour of the work and my progreſs.

3. Was fair, and had the uſual progreſs.

4. The proceed was as the preceding day, and the Mole was ſurveyed by Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe.

5, 6, 7. Admitted little alteration of work.

8. Our men fired the land early in the morning, which gave a great conſternation to the Moors. Our progreſs at the Mole was as uſual.

9. My Lord Howard went for Teriffa in our brigantines; the weather ſtill continuing, ſo that we wrought well at the Mole.

10. Our brigantines returned, and brought in a bergue, which proved belonging to Majorca.

11. Continuing ſtill fair, we wrought as uſually at the Mole.

12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. Theſe days were one continued ſtorm at the Eaſt, which gave ſome hindrance to our proceed upon the pillars, ſo that our chief work was caſting great ſtones into the Mole.

23. The wind changed to the Weſt, and proved calm. My Lord General and myſelf were entertained aboard Sir Thomas Allyn. About two in the afternoon we ſpied Sir John Harman, who, being in the midſt of the current, was forced into the Streights with his convoys, without being able to ſpeak the flag. About eight at night Sir Thomas Allyn went for Cadiz, and my Lord ſaluted his departure with moſt of the guns in the place.

25. Great firing was heard at night, towards Gibraltar. The Wind was again freſh at Eaſt, and began the 24th, which was ſome hindrance unto our work at the Mole.

26, 27, 28, 29, 30. Continued ſtill the freſh Levant winds, the uſual diſturbers of our work.

31. Being Sunday, was a perfect calm, and very hot, with ſo great a miſt that I could not ſee the Mole from my ſtudy window.

Auguſt 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Theſe thirteen days produced nothing that was new, our work at the Mole being according to our uſual practice. The weather was in the time very various.

14. This morning a Mooriſh boat, about two of the clock, ſurpriſed two fiſhing boats belonging to the town; one of which hardly eſcaped; the other was taken, which had ſix men and a Portugal maſon that belonged to the town.

15. The fiſhermen were again chaſed in by the ſaid Mooriſh brigantine.

16. One of our brigantines, with the barge, lay out to intercept the Moors, but ſaw nothing. This morning, from three of the clock until even, it rained violently, which is not uſual in the ſeaſon.

17. The morning proved again very rainy, and the day brought in towards night a prize, ſent in by Captain Beach. About the cloſe of the day, being ſeven at night, there was heard great ſhooting, which continued with violence; a Southerly wind and light moon; we counted above two thouſand great ſhot. The noiſe, being on the other ſide Cape Sparta, was plainly heard from the walls of the town, where myſelf and ſeveral others were gathered to hear it. We had intelligence, that the Dutch fleet, in chaſing ſix Algerines, which much out-ſailed them, drove them on a ſquadron of our Engliſh frigates.

18. This afternoon, about two of the clock, came into the Bay, Captain Beach, in the Hampſhire, with four other fourth-rate frigates, who gave this account of the preceding day's action: that Sir Thomas Allyn, having intelligence of ſix Algerine frigates, that were expected to return home, went with a ſquadron of ſhips to Gibraltar, to clear there, that he might be in the way if the Turks ſhould eſcape Captain Beach and thoſe frigates he had ordered to attend the Streights mouth at the entrance; that Vangant, with a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, having chaſed theſe Algerines for ſome days, continued

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to do, but at a great diſtance, yet ſo that the frigates could ſcarce get to ſea, whoſe neceſſities, for want of proviſions, did alſo force them home; and in the mouth of the Streights, not far from Cape Spartel Southward, met with the ſquadron of our frigates, commanded by Captain Beach, which, being clean, proved to out-ſail the Turks, which made them edge into the ſhore, and fire pretty ſmartly, until our frigates had poured in to them two or three broadſides, and then the Turks ran moſt of them into the holds of their ſhips, and cried for quarter a long time ere it could be known in the night, and during the hurry, which cauſed the Turkiſh ſhips to run on ground, and make them hold conſultation about killing the Chriſtian captives; which theſe underſtanding, began to get together, and to defend themſelves. The Turks burnt two of their own frigates in the night. So ſoon as day appeared, our frigates pillaged and fired two others, ſetting free about one hundred and ſixty captives. The two remaining Algerine frigates were run on ſhore, much to the leeward of our ſhips, ſo that we could not come to fire them; and this gave an occaſion to ſome of Vangant's ſquadron to come to their pillage, out of which they took ſeveral captives, and ſet many at liberty; which was all the ſhare they had in the action, excepting the being a cauſe to make the Turks fall more immediately into the ſtation where our Engliſh frigates were expecting them. Thus periſhed ſix of the very beſt ſhips of Algiers, which had two thouſand guns and two thouſand two hundred men, and above four hundred Chriſtian ſlaves. Theſe were the ſhips that ſet upon Captains Young and Allington, who were killed not long before. The laſt was a gentleman greatly to be lamented, as being a perſon of exceeding promiſing hopes; and in this rencounter the Engliſh loſt not one man.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. Theſe were thirteen days of indifferent fair weather, ſo that we proceeded well upon our pillars.

September 1. Began with a ſwell from the S.W.

2. Came in a great ſea, the conſequence of a S.W. wind that had blown freſh ſome days before, increaſed with a freſh wind from the N.W.; ſo that at high water, about one of the clock, was by much the greateſt ſea that had come upon the Mole ſince my coming laſt to Tangier; yet did the ſpray rarely reach the Mole, though it was conceived to break forty feet upon them in perpendicular height. Upon the ebb the ſeas ſeemed greater, and broke the flat bars upon the ground courſe of the twenty-fifth pillars, and did diſorder the courſe itſelf, but without prejudice to the Mole, or finiſhed pillars.

3. About one in the morning, I had an account the ſame ſea was more raging, ſo that ſome who attended upon the Mole gave me an account, that they judged the ſea not much inferior to ſome winter ſtorms. It did no other harm than breaking out the flat bars in a finiſhed pillar, for want of the downright bars. At noon the ſea continued as fierce as ever, removed the croſs bars of another upper courſe, and took out ſome tarrace work of another, which was all the ill conſequence of this firſt great ſea, and gave me great ſatisfaction, that the work would anſwer my hopes; becauſe, though we were to expect greater ſeas, ſo was alſo my intention much better to defend the very pillars, by burying them in great ſtones. What I wondered to ſee was, the ſea to ſhake one intire pillar of above forty tuns. I judged it was, that the pillar did not ſtand upon an even foundation, and was not enough buried in ſtone. This happened at a ſpring tide, without ſtirring a ſtone all along the Mole ſide, or diſordering the end thereof, which had its pro-

tection from ſome piles that did defend it. It aſcertained this to me, which before I believed, that if the pillars ſtood, it did not import how ſlightly the Mole was built within them.

4. The ſea abated, and we proceeded upon our work.

5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Was moderately fair, and had the uſual progreſs.

10. Being Saturday, about night was a perfect calm. We made preparations for placing the cheſt; and, becauſe the ſprings were obſerved to be always ſtormy, it was judged beſt to endeavour placing it at a neap tide; and becauſe the want of a harbour made the cheſt to draw too much water, ſo that it could not float, Mr. Shere cauſed about thirty tons of the tarrace work to be taken out in the night, which notwithſtanding did not free her to float.

11. Being Sunday, towards night they got the cheſt free, and brought her towards the end of the Mole, the ſea running a little high at S.W. and then N.W. ſo that there was no placing the cheſt that night.

12. The ſea continued ſo high as to fruſtrate our expectations about placing the cheſt, and cauſed the bringing it back from the end of the Mole, and within its protection. In the evening my couſin Wickham parted for Malaga, in order to his journey for England, being ſent expreſs by myſelf to his Majeſty, becauſe of the neceſſity and ſtreights of our Mole affairs. This evening I went with Mr. Shere, to ſound the depth where the cheſt was to be placed, and found it ſtill drew too much water; and that lightening the cheſt at one end, made it draw more at the other; which I obſerved to Mr. Shere, that he might not miſtake his meaſure, as he was like to do.

13. In the morning all hands were again at work, and full of expectation; but the ſeas ſwelled ſo much, that Mr. Shere told me, he durſt not venture placing the cheſt, for fear no boats could have lain by the ſide to load: and I found him very much deſponding, becauſe of ſeveral diſappointments this deſign had had. Mr. Shere aſſured me, there was enough water to place the cheſt at the neaps; which finding not, upon my own ſounding, I cauſed Captain Bolland and Captain Saith to ſound, who found barely ten feet water, and that the cheſt drew near eleven feet, although there had been more above ſixteen tons of tarrace-work taken out, ſo that there was no hopes of placing the cheſt but at a ſpring tide. This was the fifth grand eſſay and diſappointment that we had in our endeavours about placing the cheſt, by a ſudden Levant as before.

14, 15, 16. The Levant held, to our continued diſappointment.

17. Our men were expecting to ſet the cheſt from three in the morning until nine, when again diſappointed by the Levant; which abating, they made the ſeventh attempt in the night.

September 18. Being Sunday, Mr. Shere, having been out all night about placing the cheſt, ſent me word, early in the morning, that the cheſt was at laſt placed, though he feared not ſo well as I might deſire, yet as well as was poſſible, conſidering the ſeas that run; that he himſelf, by a fall, had much bruiſed himſelf, and was forced to betake himſelf to his bed, ſo that he muſt leave the future care of ſecuring the cheſt to me. This was about five of the clock in the morning. Soon after came Captain Bolland, to let me know, that after the cheſt was grounded at half ebb, by violence of a great ſea,

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the cheſt was removed ſeveral yards from the place where it was ſet; that it ſtood hollow, and in ſo irregular a poſture as muſt of neceſſity be new-placed, or got into harbour upon the flood; that Mr. Shere told him, he thought he had broke two of his ribs. I immediately ſent for the Major of the town and ſome others, to view, with myſelf, how the cheſt ſtood; which we found according to the former account, and agreed in the opinion of new-placing the cheſt as of abſolute neceſſity. I went to ſee Mr. Shere, whom I found in bed, and talked very heartily, and agreeing with us in opinion. I adviſed him to be let blood, but he could not be perſwaded to it; which gave ſome colour to what was commonly ſaid, that Mr. Shere, having been often diſappointed, and now at laſt failing this eighth grand eſſay, began quite to deſpair of placing the cheſt, as might have been any ways creditable. As evidence of this, ſome ſaid, tears were ſeen in his eyes when he found it impoſſible in the morning to bring the cheſt into the intended place; that by caſting this laſt part upon myſelf, what ended amiſs would fall leſs immediately upon him, becauſe of his abſence. I was full of fears, from my declared opinion againſt placing cheſts, for other reaſons, as well as the uncertain iſſue. There wanted not evil men, whoſe zeal for building with cheſts meeting public reflections from the irrational practice of it, as was apparent from ſeveral conſiderations attending this eſſay, thought ſomething to ſave their own credit, by ſhifting the blame of this delay upon my deſire to have the cheſt ſucceed amiſs; and becauſe the reaſons againſt proceeding upon building the Mole with this way of cheſts would be the ſame, whether the preſent were placed or not. Theſe men, as I was informed, did deſire the cheſt might miſcarry, out of intentions, by aſperſing me with the iſſue, the

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better to juſtify themſelves. We happened to have an equinoctial ſpring-tide at the very height, which flowed about two feet more than uſual. Some ſhowers of rain fell by accident at the time, which made as great a calm as had been known at the top of ſpring. The head of the cheſt was prepared with ſquare ſtone; but we found the place intended to ſet the cheſt upon did, becauſe of the unequal lading the cheſt, better correſpond to have the wrong ſide turned to the ſea, which we did to the loſs of the ſquare ſtone. Much of the tarrace-work had been taken out of the cheſt, ſo that ſhe carried only at bottom a wall about two feet and a half thick; nothing on the ſides; at one end, ſuch another wall of good ſquared ſtone; at the other, of ſmall ſtones ſet in tarrace, which now fronted the ſea. Theſe end walls were built about two-third parts to the top of the cheſt. I did not compute her lading above one-fifth part of what the contents might be upon filling the cheſt; and yet thus empty, and upon the height of a great ſpring, and becalmed by accident more than uſual, did the cheſt touch the ground as the ſeas did deſcend. Before I did venture to ground the cheſt, I ſent for the principal divers that had been long planning the foundation, and then deſired them to place the cheſt firſt upon a ſure bed, and then as near as poſſible to the head of the Mole. The ſurge of the ſea was ſuch, during this calm, that ſome of the anchors came home. We faſtened ſeveral cables about the pillars and the piles that I had made to ſecure our other work, which held all firm, and without which every one judged it had been impoſſible to have kept the cheſt ſteady; however, ſhe did not ground within ten yards of the place, had been at great charges, long preparing and planning under water. I cannot ſay whether this was owing to the difficulty of placing ſo unruly a body near to an intended

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part, or to the divers their miſtake, or to Mr. Shere his abſence, or to our better fortune; but moſt certain it was owing to the great ſpring tide, which gave the cheſt water enough to float much nearer to the head of the Mole than any could expect, and meeting there a parcel of our ſofteſt ſtone, though no bed had been made, the bottom of the cheſt being harder and ſtronger than theſe ſtones, ſhe ground them ſo much (as the ſeas did deſcend) that all the water about the cheſt was in a perfect puddle; by this means making in a little time a better bed than it was poſſible by hands to do. I took the beſt care I could to bring the cheſt near the work, and that it might range with the front; and it happily grounded very well, and, as an officer wittily ſaid, "Of a dumb thing that underſtood nothing, placed itſelf more diſcreelly, both as to the diſtance from the head of the Mole, the ſoft ſtones it grounded upon, and in other reſpects, than was ever intended by any man conducting the affair." The beginning of ſummer there was a draught of the Mole ſent into England to the Lords Commiſſioners, which ſet the cheſt at the end of three hundred and eighty yards, contiguous to the head of the Mole which it was to ſecure. I found Mr. Shere was planning the foundation about thirty yards farther into the ſea; which cauſed me to obſerve, that all the cheſt did reaſonably pretend to do was ſecuring the end of the Mole; that it would be great weakneſs to place it beyond all hopes of carrying the Mole unto it, timely enough to ſecure all before the winter ſtorms; that ſince it was not likely to bring the cheſt ſo near the Mole-head as was expreſſed in the foreſaid draught, yet endeavours ſhould be had to bring it within ſome reaſonable proportion, which was a duty incumbent upon me, as much as all our ſummer's work, and the ſecurity of the cheſt itſelf: which

Mr. Shere conſidering, did endeavour to plan the foundation nearer; but preſently deſiſted, out of a deſpair to find a tide that would bring water ſufficient. An officer in the town afterwards told me, upon the delay of the cheſt; which work he did continue to favour, though not out of opinion, yet out of party, as did I think one, and only one more of the whole place, that it was diſcourſed, the reaſon why the ſetting the cheſt was ſo long delayed was owing to Mr. Shere's fitting, at my deſire, a new bed to ground the cheſt upon. I carried him to the Mole-head, and let him ſee where the cheſt ought to have been placed; that I was conſenting, rather than fail, to have the cheſt ſet twenty yards farther into the ſea, though the joining of this was a mighty work late in the year; but that the intended place was yet ten yards farther, a diſtance beyond all hopes for us to extend the Mole. With this the gentleman ſeemed ſatisfied, but left me thoughtful enough; for I much feared a tide high ſufficient to bring the cheſt nearer than the farther diſtance; and if ſo remote, was very much concerned how to ſecure the whole work; for if the Mole could not be joined to the cheſt, there was likely to be a vacancy that might be of very dangerous conſequence. On the other hand, I was very ſure the blame of all would fall upon myſelf, and that I wanted not thoſe who did expect to do me all the ill offices they could; but the cheſt being by good fortune brought ſo near to the Mole-head as is before ſet down, my fear as to this part was well over, and my care was only now to ſecure the cheſt, ſo that it might float no more; which if it did, all concluded would be moſt certainly loſt; becauſe the ſea grew more agitated, and the cheſt began in ſome places to give way, ſome great timbers being ſtarted above four inches, and ſome of the under planks quite loſt. The cheſt did heel to

the Eaſtward about twelve inches. This Mr. Shere ſeemed troubled at, and gave it the placing the cheſt upon a wrong bed, and too near the end of the Mole. I obſerved, that the cheſt was ſo unequally laden, that in ſome places ſhe heeled as ſhe floated as much as ſhe now did upon grounding; that if an intire ſtone, as was pretended, and this to be buried and covered in the body of the Mole, it was of no great importance which way the cheſt did heel, but extremely much to bring it within ſo reaſonable a diſtance, that we might hope to join the Mole into the cheſt, and ſecure all againſt winter, which, as it was, would be a very great work. This very accident happened at laſt to be the very preſervation of the cheſt; for though at great charges we had kept ſome veſſels laden a long time with ſtone, as others with lime and tarrace, attending the lading the cheſt, yet the ſea was ſo agitated none of theſe could lie by the ſide of it. All men were deſpairing. I cauſed the diſtance to be meaſured, and found we had ſome long maſts upon the Mole, that would reach from the end of it to the cheſt. In a few hours we made a bridge; and then, having ſeveral hands from the garriſon, with many officers that paſſed the night upon the Mole with myſelf, we carried ſo many ſtones into it, that upon the flood, though the cheſt was not without motion, it was ſo little as to do no hurt.

September 19 and 20. The next day and the following we carried more ſtone, and laid it in tarrace.

21. The ſea abated, ſo that we got the pink to the cheſt's ſide. A veſſel had attended many months, laden with ſtone, which I cauſed to be caſt into the ſea, near the cheſt, the better to ſecure it.

22, 23, 24. The ſeas were more agitated, yet we filled th cheſt from the bridge; and beſide, did ſome work at the 24tl

and 25th pillar, and drove in two piles, and were ſtill caſting more great ſtones into the ſea, for ſecuring the piles and pillars.

After the cheſt was thus happily placed, Mr. Shere, who began to mend, gave me an account that he found the Mole, from the foot of York Caſtle to the end of the cheſt, to be four hundred and three yards, ſo that the addition was twenty-five yards; a great work, if we could join the Mole to the cheſt, and protect the whole with pillars. A great work, conſidering how far the ſummer was ſpent, which was judged, at my arrival, by much inſufficient to ſecure and repair paſt damages; and indeed it had not been amiſs to have uſed all endeavours fully to ſecure the paſt work, rather than to advance farther, becauſe the reputation of all did depend upon the good ſucceſs of the approaching winter.

25, 26, 27, 28, 29. The ſeas continued agitated, from the conſequence of the S.W. wind, which brought in conſiderable quantities of rain: our progreſs was about the piles and pillars.

30. A conſiderable S.W. ſea from a N.W. wind, which was checked by the ſudden Levant winds.

October 1, 2. The ſame continued, and leſſened again, becauſe of the Eaſt wind ſpringing as the day before, which, however, did not hinder the driving in a pile, and our uſual daily progreſs. This day's ſea took away the croſs bars of one of the pillars, without any other prejudice. This happened from the want of the down-right bars. About ten of the clock at night, the Moors ſet fire to the hay-ſtack, which was between the palliſadoes and the ſpur built by my Lord Bellaſys under Peterborough tower. Some men went out from the caſtle, but nothing could hinder the fire from conſuming the hay-ſtack.

3. It proved calm, the wind at W.; being a ſpring-tide, we laid the foundation of the twenty-ſixth pillar, ſo far as to get the ſtones down and ready againſt the next day. We got in a pile, which reached to the Eaſt ſide of the cheſt, and was the ſixty-eighth pile in the firſt row next the pillars.

4. Continued fair; the wind turned to S.W. We laid to paſs the courſe in the foundation of the twenty-fifth pillar; but, becauſe the tide did not flow out, could do no more than barely to place them without tarrace, or iron croſs bars. We got in two piles, which made ſeventy. About one of the clock in the afternoon ſprung up a freſh Levant, which carried Captain Pool in the Jerſey, and London in the Guernſey (with Dr. Larance and his family, who were bound for Malaga) towards Cadiz.

5. The Eaſterly wind, which had much abated in the night, blew ſo freſh, that we could only put in the croſs bars into the lower courſe of the twenty-fifth pillar, and caſting down ſtones, according to our uſual cuſtom, about noon Captain Lyddale, in the Roebuck, returned from Malaga, bringing word, that in his paſſage he met Captain Pool, who made a ſhift to turn it up towards Malaga in the calm night; that he ſaw, as he departed Malaga, Sir Thomas Allyn's flag, with two other ſhips, ſtanding into that Road. About the ſame time we eſpied, paſſing the Streights Weſtward, five ſhips near the Spaniſh Coaſt, which left us in doubt whether Sir Thomas Allyn or ſome other, as was generally thought out of belief Sir Thomas would not paſs the port with a fair gale, the wind being much abated, without calling upon Tangiers as he returned for England. Others believed the contrary, becauſe Sir Thomas was not held a friend to the place.

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5. The wind continuing at Eaſt, hindered our progreſs upon the twenty-ſixth pillar.

6. The wind continued the ſame, to the like hindrance. In the evening Sir Thomas Allyn was ſeen, attended with two other ſhips, which came to anchor in the Road at the beginning of the night.

7. About ſeven in the morning I met Sir Thomas upon the great Mole, where he took a view of our new work, and ſeemed exceedingly ſatisfied with the piles and the pillars. We dined with my Lord at the Caſtle, and took leave of Sir Thomas Allyn that evening. The wind was leſſened, and the ſea calm; yet there came ſuch a ſurf at the end of the Mole, we could not work at the pillar. Sir Thomas parted in the night. Towards morning fell ſome rain.

8. Proved calm; the wind changed to the W. and S.W. which occaſioned ſome ſhowers of rain, and continued ſuch a ſurf that we could not proceed upon the ſaid pillar; but we got in a pile, which made the ſeventy-firſt. We paſſed part of the evening in the barge, with my wife and niece, in the bay.

9. Being Sunday, the ſea was much agitated from a N.W. wind, that blew exceedingly in the night. The ſea was much calmed toward the evening, which promiſed fair weather againſt the next day; but the ſurf ſtill continued very great at the end of the Mole.

10. The wind abated, which did yet continue a ſurf; and being beſide the neap, we could not proceed in the ſaid Eaſtern-moſt pillar, which made me cauſe maſons to finiſh the moſt Weſtmoſt pillars, the foundations of which had been laid ſome days; and I ordered two gangs about making the dock, and adjoining pier, at the beginning of the Mole.

11. The wind at S.W. brought ſome ſhowers, and made ſuch a ſurf we could not work to the Eaſtward. About noon appeared the fleet from England, upwards of fifty ſail, under the convoy of the Greenwich, &c. Six ſail put into Tangiers, laden for the Mole and Garriſon. The reſt of the day I ſpent in reading my letters. Paſſing, towards evening, upon the Mole, I found it run a conſiderable ſea, and ſhaked ſeveral of the Eaſternmoſt piles, which were undefended, and only driven into the foundation about five feet.

12. One of the ſaid piles, being of pine, broke juſt by the ſhoe. The wind continuing the ſame, our work was as the preceding day, making preparations for unlading the ſtores ſent. Much of my time I ſpent in anſwering letters.

13. I continued my letters, all things correſponding to the preceding day.

14. I finiſhed my letters, and ſent them to Cadiz, to paſs into England by Sir Thomas Allyn, together with a model to make iron ſhoes by for our piles. My wife was taken ill with gripings; but better toward the evening. Carey arrived with wood for piles. The weather promiſed a calm, and the ſpring tide began to enter; ſo that we had fair hopes of finiſhing the outermoſt courſe Eaſtward, which had been diſcontinued for ſome time.

15. Proved ſo fair upon the entering of the ſpring, that we got a ſecond courſe upon the Eaſternmoſt pillar, and proceeded in the other work as uſual.

16. Being Sunday, paſſed without any thing much more conſiderable, than my obſerving to Mr. Shere, that ſome of the officers had complained, he, in his way of commanding, uſed unfitting language, which might bring inconvenience upon him. I deſired him to be always wary to give his commands mildly,

mildly, as one gentleman ought to ſpeak to another. Mr. Shere did receive this with much temper, and let me ſee that the diſpute which was between him and Mr. Whitaker had ſome occaſion, from Whitaker's want of temper; but what I aimed at, was making peace; for it ſeems Whitaker telling Shere (after heat on both ſides), "That he did not know Shere for his ſuperior officer; and that he had this from Captain Bolland;" which provoked Shere to reply, "He did ill to take example from ſuch a coxcomb:" which words I underſtood were carried to Bolland; and that he, being then ill, was reſolved to queſtion theſe, ſo ſoon as his lameneſs did permit. But I made it my buſineſs to preſerve peace all I could, and make a better underſtanding among my officers.

17. Though the ſprings were entered, a ſudden Levant wind hindered us to clear the foundation for more pillars, ſo that our labours were diverted upon other work.

18. We had the ſame hindrance from the Levant. Our buſineſs was about the dock, and a courſe upon one of the four Weſternmoſt pillars.

19. Proved very calm, the wind S.W. We cleared a foundation of an outermoſt pillar to the Eaſt, and laid ſome ſtones to paſs. We did alſo proceed in the new pier for the dock, and in pointing, &c. The evening proved very calm, and the moon bright: I ordered a gang of men to be clearing another foundation that night-tide, it being a very low ſpring. Captain Keyler, in the Mary, paſſed by, with four frigates, and ſent me ſome dried tongues. This day, being ſix months from my coming to Tangiers, I found that there were twenty-five pillars finiſhed all in a row, which ſecured above one hundred yards, beſides the foundation of two other pillars laid to the Eaſt; to the Weſt two other pillars finiſhed, and two others

above half finiſhed; ſeventy piles ſtanding, and all well barricadoed with great ſtone to the ſeaward; the cheſt placed, and great hopes to ſecure all before the ſtorms, which did beſides add to the length of the work twenty-five yards ſince my arrival.

20. Though no wind, run ſuch a ſurf, we could not work at the Eaſternmoſt pillars, ſo proceeded in other work as uſual. Towards noon ſprung up a moderate Levant wind; and at cloſe of the evening, Captain Heylin, with his conſorts, paſſed by the Road.

21. Continued as the day preceding. Myſelf ſomewhat ill, with a cold in my head. At night fell ſome conſiderable ſhowers. I was informed of a poor workman, one Fox, a ſoldier, that was held to be mortally wounded by a ſtone that fell upon his back, and by the force ſtruck an iron crow into his body, ſo that his lungs appeared. This accident gave me ſome trouble. I took all care the man ſhould want nothing.

22. Continued ſtill a great ſea, to our hindrance, and did much ſhake eight or ten of our pine piles that were to the Eaſt, and before the cheſt, inſomuch as I had many fears theſe piles would not abide the ſtorms we might expect, unleſs we could have time to bury them better with ſtone; and to that end we proceeded as much as poſſible. The wounded man was better; my illneſs much as the day before. I diſpatched Captain Nun, Maſter of the Unicorn, that came with ſtores, ſo that he miſſed not the convoy for Malaga.

23. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, the ſame great ſeas ſtill continuing; my diſtemper ſomething abated towards night.

24. The wind ſtill at S.W. continued a great ſea, ſo that we wrought at ſome pillars towards the Eaſt and the new dock, it being neap tides. Towards night it grew calm. We cauſed

in the night ſome plank to be nailed to our piles before the cheſt, that ſo we might defend them with ſtone; my diſtemper continuing, a heavineſs in my head.

25. The ſame ſeas and wind continued. I was let blood about twelve ounces; being pretty well, and a fair day, I went in the afternoon upon the Mole, all things continuing as the preceding day. I ſuppreſſed a libel made of Mr. Shere all I could; a thing of bad conſequence.

26. I found myſelf worſe of the cold in my head, which made me fear I had done amiſs in the expoſing myſelf too much the day before upon the Mole. This day the wind changed to a Levant, which, with the neap tide, occaſioned the ſame continuance of work as ſome days laſt paſt.

27. I took my uſual phyſic, which wrought moderately well, but not in half the proportion as was uſual in England; which I judged came from my better health, finding no ſuch weight in my ſtomach as formerly, my preſent illneſs being merely cold, which lay about my eyes and noſe; this continued as the day before. Mr. Shere gave me an account that we were, becauſe of the continual ſeas, forced to proceed in our new pillars towards the Weſt; and that towards evening there came in very great ſeas from the S.W. At night we had news of the loſs of a ſatia, coming with Roman tarrace, ſo that we were forced to rely on our own.

28. About two in the morning, as I lay in my bed, I heard the ſeas exceedingly roar, which I judged very violent. About ſeven I received a note from Mr. Shere, which, before I opened, I told my wife was to give me advice of ſome piles broken oppoſite to the cheſt. It proved no more than two ſmall pine piles ſnapped at the middle, juſt at low-water mark; which I ſuſpected, and declared might be the fate of ſeven

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or eight of our outermoſt piles, becauſe they were much expoſed, and very little defended with ſtone. The reaſon that only theſe two broke at the time, proceeded more eſpecially for being of pine, and not oak; and for being not in ſtrength one-half as they ought to have been, occaſioned from our want of better piles at the time.

I had alſo advice, that a middle ſtone of the moſt Eaſtern-moſt pillar was drawn out from under the croſs bar. This pillar had but two courſes, and was but one-third finiſhed. What ſeemed ſtrange was, that the barricado of ſtone to ſea-wards, between the piles and the pillar, continued as high as the pillar and better; but this was uſual in my own work at Whitby, to have it beaten down on the inſide, and yet to leave the outſide ſtones ſtanding at the full height, occaſioned from the ſea's beating upon the body of the work; and, finding this of ſtrength not to be removed, broke over, and with the fall on the other ſide, licked as it were ſome ſtones out, and then made a greater progreſs; and ſo it happened to the ſtone in the preſent pillars, which, being a middle ſtone, was not ſo ſtrongly bound and ſecured as the corner ſtone, and no weight upon it. The damage was no more than to new-place it in half an hour's time at the next ebb; but the conſideration, that this might happen from the ſlender hold the croſs bars had upon the middle ſtone, made me order, for the future, theſe croſs bars to be made with little holes, by which means an iron bolt might be ſoldered through the ſtone in the middle of the bar, and hold all more firmly together. The ſeas did ſomething abate in the day-time, from an Eaſt wind, that checked them. We were all extreme cheary, to find no more damage from this ſea, which was thought to have been the greateſt that had

happened ſince my coming to Tangiers. Our progreſs was as the preceding day.

29. The Eaſterly wind continued very freſh, and occaſioned as great ſeas as had been known from this wind. I took again my uſual phyſic, which not working very well, made me take one dram of cream of tartar in my phyſic broth, and then my phyſic did work extremely well, much better than the former time. Our progreſs was at the Mole as the preceding days. A ſmall French veſſel, that came into the Bay, let us know that in the morning they ſpoke with four Algiers men of war that paſſed out of the Streights to the Weſt.

30. Being Sunday, produced nothing more than uſual, excepting that, in the night, the Clermont brigantine was, by the exceſs of the Levant wind, and by the negligence of the two ſeamen that did attend, forced aſhore and bilged, which, with good care, was ſuddenly repaired. My pain in my head continued, as did the violence of the Eaſt wind, which, I think, was the chief cauſe of my mending ſo ſlowly.

31. The continuance of the Eaſt wind made it impoſſible to lay the foundation of a pillar to the Eaſt, although the ſpring was entered. We mended the ſtone that was diſordered in the Eaſternmoſt pillar that was half finiſhed, which I found proceeded from want of ſoldering the iron pin with lead. I gave order to make for the future two middle croſs bars, the better to hold together theſe ſide ſtones. All haſte was made in finiſhing the tarrace mill, and the gin to drive piles; which I greatly deſired, as well for the ſafety of the work, as eſpecially to make a protection for to lay the foundation of more pillars.

November 1. Proved calm in the morning; but about nine of the clock, the Eaſt wind blew freſh, and ſo continued till the evening. The ſeas went ſo high that, notwithſtanding the

ſpring

ſpring tides, we could not lay the foundation of another pillar to the Eaſt, which I much deſired, to the end we might defend the gap between the cheſt and the Mole, which I durſt not cloſe until the ſame was firſt defended with pillars. Our progreſs was, to lay part of another courſe upon the outermoſt pillar Eaſtward, that was but two courſes, and to do the like to one of the four Weſtward pillars. We got our beetle finiſhed to drive in piles, and wrought at the new dock, which, with the uſual work of filling ſtones, employed this day. My pain ſtill continuing kept me at home, taking again this day my foreſaid phyſic, with the former ſucceſs. The morning gave us the unhappy accident of Captain Giles, Captain Saith, and a poor ſoldier's being terribly bruiſed, by the breaking of a ſcaffold, from which they fell, viewing the repairs of Mr. Turner the miniſter's houſe.

2. Proved fair and calm, with the change of the wind to N.W.; yet there ran ſuch a ſurf as hindered our proceed in laying a courſe to the Eaſt. We perfected two courſes; one in our Eaſternmoſt pillar; the other in the third pillar of the four before the battery; and drove in a large oak pile in the place of thoſe that were broken. My pain continuing in the left ſide of my head, occaſioned ſtill my keeping home, ſo that I had my information from Mr. Shere, Major White, and Captain Bolland.

3. This morning fell ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain, which did prognoſticate the uſual rains in this month, when they commonly begin the winter: however, the ſea was reaſonably calm. I paſſed in the morning to Whitby, where I ordered another mine; thence to the great Mole, where I found them working at the little pier for the new dock. I thought little work done in nine days I had been abſent; but there were

few

few hands, and it was pier work, which moves very ſlowly. The new pillar to the Weſt I obſerved very badly finiſhed, which was excuſed from the bad weather and ſtone. The third courſe of the Eaſternmoſt pillar I found very well, and the pillar itſelf well defended. They were proceeding at another foundation to the Eaſt, the ſeas being calm; and made ſome progreſs, and drove one oak pile; which with the other cuſtomary work, cloſed this day.

4. This morning did alſo fall ſome little rain, the ſea perfectly calm. We perfected the courſe begun for the foundation of another pillar to the Eaſt, ſet a courſe in the four Weſternmoſt pillars, and pointed with tarrace ſome of the pillars that were in great want, eſpecially the bad pillar to the Weſt laſt made. We drove in two great oak piles, wrought a courſe at the new pier for the dock, with the cuſtomary work of carrying ſtones to the head of the Mole. I received a petition, which four ſeamen brought in the name of all the reſt, in modeſt terms, ſhewing it had been from the beginning cuſtomary for them to receive commands from a ſeaman that underſtood their way, and muſtered in like manner, which was uſually of late performed by Captain Bolland, their officer; that, Mr. Shere having of late taken this to himſelf, they deſired things might paſs according to former practice: which I did approve of, and obſerved the ſame to Mr. Shere, that ſo what was neceſſary for ſeamen to do, might be ſignified to Captain Bolland to ſee the ſame accordingly executed, leſt otherwiſe over-much forwardneſs might introduce confuſion, and beget only a character of a too buſy man.

5. This day was attended with a moderate Levant, that began the night before. The pain in my head ſtill continuing, I durſt not venture abroad as the two preceding days. The

account

account I had from Mr. Shere and Captain Bolland of work done was, the driving in of two oak piles, the beginning another courſe on the Eaſternmoſt pillar, with the uſual work of bringing ſtones to the head of the Mole; and, to conclude the ceremonies of the day, I ordered, as was cuſtomary, a bonfire on the Mole.

6. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, my diſtemper and the Levant continuing.

7. I began with being let blood in my foot, keeping home as I had done two or three days. The weather was fair. The account given me of our progreſs at the Mole was, the driving in two oak piles in the outermoſt rank, and the pointing ſome bad places in the pillars, with the uſual daily work. The neaps being begun, hindered the ſetting a ſecond courſe upon the laſt pillar laid to the Eaſt. In the evening, a Mooriſh boat came before the harbour, about a league from ſhore, with intentions to ſnap a ſmall barque longa that was coming into the place. We armed out a barque longa with Spaniards, and two ſmall boats, to intercept their return to the Eaſt. This forced them upon the Weſtern bay, by the Jew's river, yet ſo as the Spaniards took the boat, and killed ſome of the Moors.

8. Continued fair, but the wind changed to N.W. brought in a very great ſurf. In the morning early I took the head pill, which did work ſmartly, and occaſioned ſtill my keeping home. Mr. Shere was alſo in phyſic. The account I had from Captain Bolland was about the driving two oak piles outward, with the uſual work of carrying ſtones, &c.

9. Being alſo fair, produced the driving two oak piles, as the preceding day. About noon appeared the Newfoundland fleet, under two convoys, being near fifty ſail.

10. Still fair; we drove again two oak piles, &c. About noon the Levant ſprung up again. Captain Taylor came with his ſhip ..... about two hundred tons, to enter himſelf for Virginia. We finiſhed the tarrace mill this day.

11. In the morning fell ſome great drops of rain. This day, being the election of the new Major, fell to be holiday at the Mole. The clouds promiſed approaching rains, and the ſeas went high from the N.W. which abated by the Levant wind. Mr. Bland and Mr. Wright were the two propoſed to be Major. About eight at night fell ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain.

12. Began with gentle ſmall rains, and was as calm as I have ſeen. We drove two oak piles, and the wind came to the S.

13. Being Sunday and fair, the wind ſtill at S. paſſed as uſually.

14. Run a great ſurf at the Mole-head. The wind at S. produced in the morning ſome ſmall drops of rain; the ſky louring, promiſing rain, and yet the weather very calm and hot, which in theſe parts is not held a ſign of rains. This day began the agreement with Sir Francis Beninfield, where I undertook to pay fifty pieces of eight the month, for wages of ten boat-men. At the Mole we drove two oak piles, with the work uſual, &c.

15. Began with ſome gentle rains, hot and louring, the wind at S. At the Mole-head ſtill did continue a great ſurf, which did not hinder the driving in two piles, &c.

16. The ſame great ſurf did hinder our progreſs at the Eaſternmoſt pillar. Very fair weather. We drove two piles. At night I was informed of a petition framed by a party,

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which was to void the election, being a thing of ill conſequence, and what have continued former animoſities.

17. I obſerved to my Lord the evil conſequences of ſuch a petition; which his Excellency did wholly diſlike and ſuppreſs. Still the ſame ſurf at the Mole-head, which did not hinder the driving in two other piles.

18. Was calm, by which means we were able to work at our Eaſternmoſt pillar, and put the ſecond courſe in good forwardneſs, by the help of powdered brick and Tangier tarrace. We drove in two other piles, &c.

This day I did diſpatch Mr. Shere to Spain, to procure more great piles. He went in the company of Sir Francis Beningfield, Super-intendant of the Commiſſioner's boat, which we had lately ſettled between this place and Teriffa. I found fifty pieces of eight the month; my Lord proviſion for ten men; the project to begin from the 14th inſtant. Sir Francis did undertake to furniſh good beef at the Mole for ſix pence Portugueſe, which is ſomewhat more than four pence Engliſh. The men took five pounds for ſix. Conſidering health and other circumſtances, I judged this the beſt way of victualling.

19. Continued calm, the wind at W. We perfectly gained the ſecond courſe of the ſaid Eaſternmoſt pillar, pointed many bad pillars to the W. with our new tarrace, drove two piles, &c. In the afternoon, coming from the Caſtle, I heard that part of the inner wall of the new fortification was fallen at the parade. I took a view of the ſame, and found it about twenty yards in length, proceeding from the thinneſs of the wall, which was not above twenty inches. The damage was very inconſiderable: ſome ſaid one hundred pieces of eight; I could not value it at above ten pound; but more of the wall

 ſeemed

ſeemed in like danger; and my Lord, this very day, before any part fell, gave me his fears of what happened.

20. Being Sunday, I had early an account, that the new tarrace mingled with brick, each a quarter, and half lime, in all likelihood ſeemed to harden in the water, as well as other tarrace; which was very pleaſing, becauſe the cheſt had conſumed almoſt two years proviſion of tarrace; and a bark, which I had contracted for of Roman tarrace, was by ſtorm caſt away upon the coaſt of Spain, which made our ſtores abſolutely deſtitute of tarrace.

In the morning came in two boats, armed out for Teriffa, in purſuit of a Mooriſh brigantine, ſeen upon the coaſt. The wind changing to the Eaſt came about again to W. in the evening.

21. Fair weather, yet there ran a great ſurf at the Mole-head; but being two courſes high with our Eaſternmoſt pillar, we perfected the third courſe, got in two more piles, and pointed our pillars, &c.

22. The wind came to S.W. cold and cloudy, the ſigns of rain not unuſual in this ſeaſon. We got in two more piles, and I ordered a ſett of maſons to work at the cheſt, which wanted about two feet of being filled as high as the wood-work. The timbers gave ſo much way, as made me very apprehenſive ſome diſaſter might at leaſt happen to the wood-work; but the cheſt itſelf was excellently well ſecured with a double row of the beſt oak piles; but I was not without my apprehenſions for this, becauſe they were ſet cloſe, and we had not time to bury them well with ſtone. Paſſing in the evening in my barge, with my Lord, towards Tangiers, we ſaw many porpoiſes, which ſhewed themſelves very near our boat. Theſe are uſually held forerunners of ill weather; but the ſeamen

 ſaid,

ſaid, they had appeared for ten days, during which time we had a continuance of fair weather.

23. Continued the ſame weather. We drove two piles; proceeded upon perfecting the cheſt; and I gave order for the defending our piles, and laſt Eaſternmoſt pillars, as much as was poſſible, by the caſting in of great backers.

As I was this day upon the Mole, Captain Bolland brought to me a young ſeaman, about twenty-two years, that ſerved in the work about twenty months. He had endeavoured to hang himſelf a day or two before. I examined him all I could, who would confeſs nothing more than that for two or three days he was ſeized with a mighty melancholy. I aſked, whether he had ſeen nothing? Who then anſwered, "He had ſeen the devil two days before, in the ſhape of a man, paſſing by without ſaying any thing; and that he knew it was the devil by his having cloven feet." The young man was very ſanguine, and full of melancholy blood; which made me take order for the well bleeding and purging of him.

This day I entered into my phyſic for the ſcurvy; which was, two ſpoonfuls of juice of dandelion, with as much of oranges.

24. The weather continued the ſame. We drove two piles, and proceeded as the preceding day.

25. The like, in all reſpects, this day as the former.

26. In the night fell ſome rain; the weather ſtill continued the ſame, but was cold, and ſome more rain fell in the afternoon. We drove two piles, and proceeded as uſually.

27. Being Sunday, was ſpent in the ſervice of the day. The night was tempeſtuous, and brought a great ſea, with a N.W. wind. The day continued the ſame, ſomething abated, without the leaſt damage.

28. Was fair and cold, the wind a gentle N.W. There continued a great ſurf at the Mole-head. In the afternoon, the weather changed, looked very duſky, and there fell ſome conſiderable ſhowers of rain, but not with violence; ſo that we all concluded the great uſual rains were certainly entering. We were able only to drive one pile, and to back the work with great ſtones as uſually.

29. Was again very fair, the wind gentle at N.W. In the afternoon the wind changed to S.W. blew violently, with ſome conſiderable rains, brought a great tempeſt to the head of the Mole, and all along the pillars, without the leaſt damage; but the great oak piles before the cheſt buckled very much, which made me fear them, being ſet too cloſe at the time of my being ill. In the morning we drove two piles, &c.

This day came in a flag of truce, an old man ſent from the Moors. His buſineſs was an offer of peace upon terms ridiculous. He came from a French renegado of Tetuan.

30. The night proved exceeding tempeſtuous, from a continued S.W. wind, ſo that there ran extraordinary ſeas. The Gunner, that had attended four years upon the Mole, ſaid, he never did obſerve, to his ſenſe, at any time ſo great ſeas. In the morning I viſited the Mole, when the ſeas run high, though a little abated: I was glad to find our work had no kind of prejudice. Being St. Andrew's day, we dined with my Lord, who declared Mr. Bland Major, and feaſted the town. In the afternoon, the wind grew high, and towards night tempeſtuous, with rains, the uſual prognoſtics of continued ſtorms. Beginning the firſt of the ſpring tide, we were able to do no work this day, becauſe of the bad weather.

December 1. The night continued great ſeas, without doing the leaſt prejudice. Towards morning the wind changed to

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the N. proved clear and fair: we drove ſome piles, and fetched off a ſmall boat and ſome pieces of timber that had been by the bad weather driven upon the ſhore at Old Tangiers.

2. The wind continuing Northerly, made all clear and calm, with very cold weather. We were working at the foundation of another pillar more Eaſterly, to cloſe the gap between the Mole and the cheſt; we drove in two piles.

3. The wind changing Southerly, cauſed rains all night and moſt of the day, which continued with violence until about eleven in the night. At the Mole we drove two more piles, &c.

4. Being Sunday, the wind came freſh to N.W. which cauſed very fair and cold weather.

5. Continued reaſonably fair, ſo that we prepared the foundation of another pillar to the Eaſt, which did cloſe all to the cheſt, and we drove two piles, &c.

6. Proved rainy in the night, and cauſed a great ſea in the morning, which did not hinder the driving of two piles, &c.

7. Was rainy in the night. The ſeas continuing more high, we could drive no piles; the chief work was caſting great backers into the ſea, &c.

8. Was the greateſt ſtorm that has been known at a neap tide, the ſeas riſing to the height of the ſprings. It was very rainy, ſo that we did little work.

9. A gentle S.W. wind, and fair warm weather; yet ſuch a ſurf, we could only back the work.

10. The night and day paſſed with great rains, ſo that at the Mole we only caſt great ſtones to back the end of our work, and perfected the cheſt.

11. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually. Very fair weather; yet the wind continuing S.W. made at the Mole a great ſurf, and did beſides hinder all boats from Spain, &c.

12. Was very fair and calm; we drove a couple of piles, &c.

13. Began a mighty ſea upon a calm, for ſo it ſeemed in the offing: there being no wind, it continued all day, and was as great a ſea as hath been known; theſe ſeas, that happen without a breath of wind, being judged the moſt weighty that fall in this place. We could make but ſmall advance at the Mole, becauſe of the ſeas, which did no damage, nor ſo much as to reach the Mole with the ſpray. The evening cloſed with a great miſt, and brought the Spaniſh comedians, and good plenty of freſh meat, very ſeaſonably to the poor ſoldier. I ended my courſe for the ſcurvy.

14. The ſea increaſed, with very little wind; what was, at S. and in the face of theſe ſeas; which, notwithſtanding the double row of piles before the cheſt, broke ſo much againſt the ſame, that the ſpray was thought to riſe fifty yards in perpendicular height. Some that were at ſea told me, the waves ſeemed to break as high as the top of York Caſtle. All paſſed without the leaſt of damage to any part of the work. It was the anniverſary day that made the firſt breach the year preceding.

15. Being Chriſtmas-day after the Roman account, the ſeas abated, yet ſo as we could do little other work than caſt great ſtones in between the double row of piles, over againſt the cheſt, and ſet ſome more foundation of pillars to the Weſt, the better to protect ſome of our ſtores there.

16. The S.W. ſeas were more violent, which about noon received ſome check from the Levant, that came on the ſudden;

ſudden; yet it was not poſſible to drive any piles, or work to the Eaſtward. We wrought at ſome new pillars Weſtward. The comedians acted at the caſtle, being my Lord General's wedding-day to this lady; they were very well liked.

17. The ſeas were abated, ſo that we drove two piles. Towards evening we had great hopes of a calm tide, to lay a foundation to the Eaſt, ere the ſpring-tide ended.

18. Being Sunday, appeared calm in the morning; ſome men attending, to plane a foundation to the Eaſt againſt next morning: but, upon the ebb, came again the S.W. ſeas, with a very conſiderable weight; which hindered all attempts, and took away our hopes of proceeding to the other pillar Eaſtward this ſpring.

19. The wind continued freſh Eaſterly, ſo that we could do little more than drive two piles, and work upon the Weſtern-moſt pillars.

20. The ſame wind and the ſame proceed as the day preceding. In the morning paſſed by the Malaga fleet to Cadiz, &c.

21. The wind Weſterly, exceeding fair and calm. We ſpent our time in preparing a foundation for another pillar to the Eaſt, &c.

22. Continuing fair, we perfected the foundation of the ſaid pillar to the Eaſt, and placed three great ſtones in the firſt courſe, and drove two piles.

23. The weather ſtill continued as fair and as calm as I ever knew it, ſo that we got the firſt courſe of the ſaid pillar finiſhed; which was a pleaſing work, in regard it cloſed the gap between the cheſt and the Mole-head. We drove two piles, &c.

24. Was alſo very fair, and gave us an opportunity to put the iron bars into the courſe laid laſt to the Eaſtward. We drove

drove two piles, which perfected all I intended this ſeaſon in both rows, there being in the row next the work ſeventy-five piles, and fifty-nine in the outermoſt row. Towards evening roſe the Levant, as it did the day preceding.

25. Being Chriſtmas-day and Sunday, continued very fair, and was ſpent in the ſervices of the day, &c.

26. Though calm, brought in a conſiderable S.W. ſea. I treated all the officers of the Mole upon it, in the new houſe, keeping the holiday.

27. Continued the ſame ſeas, and we our jollity.

28. Some work was done at the Mole, not very conſiderable, being holiday. Towards night came in great ſeas from the South-weſt.

29. Was very rainy all night, and moſt of the day, ſo that little work was done.

30. Was ſomething fair, ſo that we got the Eaſternmoſt pillar in ſome forwardneſs.

31. We put the bars in the ſaid pillar, which cloſed the gap between this and the cheſt, the ſaid pillar being brought to high-water mark.

January 1. Being Sunday, began the new year, the money coming from Cadiz.

2. We kept holiday, giving all the men a dinner to the number of five hundred and more. The wants of money made this more acceptable. It was very rainy moſt of the day.

3. Was very tempeſtuous and rainy all night, which made mighty ſeas at the Mole, without any damage; only the barque longa, that was wrought with tarrace, ſunk in the harbour, from the violence of rain, and the neglect of the man attending. We employed ſome time in our endeavours to weigh her,

and

and got cables under. Little work done at the Mole, the carts not being able to paſs, &c.

4. Was rainy all night. The day was ſpent in getting another courſe the ſaid Eaſternmoſt pillar, which brought it to full height, and perfectly cloſed the gap.

5. We had much rain in the night and day. We perfected the ſaid pillars, excepting the croſs bars. We weighed the barque longa, and placed it near the cheſt. We began to carry the key to make the Mole join with the town, which I began from the little Mole.

6. Continued exceeding rainy the night and moſt part of the day, being Twelfth-day, and becauſe of the rains was in a manner kept holiday; yet we did ſomething towards the finiſhing the laſt pillar, &c.

7. We had alſo rain; but not ſo as to hinder the work. We began a top courſe, which was wanting to the laſt Eaſternmoſt pillar but one, and we made ſome progreſs upon the key. I had notice two of the pillars had ſome motion from the ſea. Theſe were of thoſe firſt built; they ſtood naked, and were ſet too near. They received no damage, and I cauſed them to be ſecured by ſome great ſtones caſt between the pillar and the Mole. The foundation of theſe pillars was extraordinary good, and in that reſpect prejudicial; for the pillar could not ſettle, which made me rather deſire a new foundation than otherwiſe; for if the pillar any way ſunk beyond low-water mark, then it was ſo buried as to be perfectly ſecure.

8. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, there being a great ſea from the S.W. checked a little from a ſudden Levant that roſe. In the evening Mr. Shere returned.

9. The great S.W. ſea was very violent all night, and in the morning; yet we proceeded in perfecting our Eaſternmoſt pillars, and upon the new key with the uſual work.

10. Was very fair. We got a courſe to the Weſt, and our pillars pointed, with the uſual proceed.

11. Continued fair, with a ſurf from the N.W. Our progreſs was as the preceding day.

12. A freſh N.W. wind. Our progreſs upon the key and the Weſtermoſt pillar, &c. Towards night the wind blew freſh at S. which brought in a conſiderable ſea.

13. The wind was again N.W. and very freſh. The progreſs as the preceding day, &c.

14. The wind continued the ſame, and we our labour as the day before. Having cloſed the gap between the cheſt and the Mole, I was deſirous only to back this work until the beginning of ſummer, when a proceed might be more proper, becauſe of the ſeaſon.

15. Being Sunday, our barge and long boat went out in ſearch of a Mooriſh ſmall brigantine. We met with a Teriffa boat, and followed the Mooriſh brigantine beyond Cape Spartel, when our ſmall boats returned after the Spaniſh boats, and ſaid, ſhe ran the Mooriſh boat on ſhore, and ſtaved her. This day Captain Berry came in the Nonſuch, bound for England. He brought news of Sir Edward Sprag's having taken a new Algerine of thirty-ſix guns.

16. The wind was Eaſt. We drove ſome piles for a bridge at Whitby, and proceeded in the Mole and key as formerly.

17. Had in all reſpects the like progreſs, the work being about foundations for new pillars to the joining thoſe made to the Eaſt and Weſt, &c.

18,

18, 19, 20, 21. The work was ſtill the ſame. We laid the foundations of ſix pillars, which cloſed thoſe to the E. and W. We made a conſiderable progreſs in the key, to make the Mole and the town contiguous, and were filling the gap between the Mole and the cheſt, and backing the piles with great filling-ſtones; and at Whitby they drove ſeveral piles for a bridge, for the more commodious landing of ſmall ſtones. The wind during theſe days was variable, ſometimes at S. and W. which brought ſmall rains; ſometimes N.W.; and the 21ſt, towards evening, ſprung up a ſmall Levant.

22. Being Sunday, and calm, came into the road Captain Langſton, in the Newcaſtle, and Captain Herber, in the Dragon, with eight or nine convoys, moſt from Ireland, bound into the Streights; they parted in the night.

23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Being all the week paſt with very fair weather, the wind gently at N.W the beginning of the week, and S.W. about the end of it, which did portend rains, and the great ſeas that uſually have happened the beginning of February; our work was chiefly at the pillars to join the Eaſt and Weſt pillars, and at the key from the Mole to the town. We drove ſome piles at Whitby for a bridge to load the ſtone-boats. The land carpenters were fitting more quarters for our men on the Mole, and the ſhip carpenters were employed about fitting the pink to ſink with pillars. We perfectly joined the Mole to the cheſt by the end of the week; but our men wrought but badly, becauſe this week was iſſued a nine months pay to the garriſon, which cauſed every where a general neglect of work, for to make merry and drink.

29. Being Sunday, was very miſty, the wind at S.; it cleared up in the evening.

30. The night and day paſſed with a ſtrong N.W. wind, which cauſed a conſiderable ſea at the Mole. The day was kept holiday, in memory of King Charles the Martyr.

31. Brought in a great ſea, with a ſtrong N.W. wind, which was very violent in the night. It diſordered a little one courſe in the pillars between the Eaſt and Weſt. This was from the tarrace not being ſet, nor the pillars finiſhed: all was made good in an hour's time. In the morning Sir Edward Sprag came into the Road, with the Turkiſh prize and a frigate or two to attend him.

Feb. 1. I treated my Lord General and Sir Edward Sprag at our new houſe upon the Mole; and after noon we were all diverted with a play acted by the ſoldiers in the place. The wind ſtill continuing high, cauſed a great ſea at the Mole.

2. Was a very high ſpring, flowing by meaſure nine feet four inches; uſually, at ſprings, it is not wont to flow above ſix feet. The wind continued fair at N.W. The progreſs of the Mole, as uſual, our daily work. About ten at night, Sir Edward went for Cadiz, the wind coming off the land.

3. The ſame wind and progreſs as the preceding day. We did ſome iron-work in ſervice to Captain Colburn, one of the commanders of his Majeſty's frigates, who ſtayed behind for that purpoſe, &c.

4. The wind and ſeas increaſed at N.W. Towards midnight Captain Colbron, in the Portſmouth, went with the wind at S.E. towards Cadiz; but was ſuddenly forced back into Tangier's Road, by change of wind to the N.W. which came in violent guſts of hail, rain, and wind.

5. Being Sunday, continued the ſame violent guſts of wind and ſhowers at N.W.

6. Was all night ſtill more raging and tempeſtuous, which cauſed a very great N.W. ſea. In the morning Mr. Whitaker came to tell me, all was very well at the Mole; but two boats were loſt, belonging to ſome French ſhips that rid ſecure within the head of the Mole. Theſe were driven to Old Tangiers, loſt with one man for want of care. The day continued exceeding tempeſtuous as to wind; but the ſeas were not ſo great as thoſe formerly mentioned happened in a calm; but, by my obſervation, theſe ſeemed to portend the like weighty ſeas againſt the next ſpring tides.

7. Was leſs wind, and the ſeas much abated. In the evening, after four of the clock, happened a very ſad and unuſual accident. One Mr. Nat. Wright, born of good parentage in Briſtow; a handſome well-bred young gentleman, that, by being in theſe parts of Spain, had, by the way of merchandize, lived always very genteely, and beſides well improved his fortune, was lately come to ſettle in Tangiers, where he had bought a conſiderable eſtate in houſes; coming to accompany one Mr. John Can, of Briſtow, lately come thence with merchandize, and returning thither again, to bid his farewell to myſelf and wife, who with my niece Compton were all diſcourſing in my wife's bed-chamber, from whence ſome buſineſs called me and her; when immediately my niece cried out, "Mr. Wright was ſhot quite through the body." Coming ſuddenly into the chamber, I found the ſaid Mr. Wright upon the ground, reſting upon one of his hands. With much courage he told me, "He was a dead man." I deſired he might be carried into the next bed-chamber; but he ſaid, "He was able to go himſelf;" and ſo, reſting upon Mr. Can, went to bed. The ſurgeons were immediately ſent; who at firſt ſeemed to have ſome hopes, and dreſſed his wound. He then

deſired

desired to speak privately with me. He told me, "He was not afraid to die; that he had nothing worse upon his conscience, than that he had lived a sinner, as other young men were wont to do; but that he had repented, and might be perhaps in a better condition to die now than at another time;" but desired to know what the surgeons thought, faithfully and without flattery; which I did, just as they said, concerning their fear and hopes. Pains coming upon him, I then said, "These were bad signs, and he might do well to dispose of his estate:" and calling witness, he gave all to his father and dear mother, excepting some legacies; and named myself and Mr. Bland his executors, upon trust; and desired me to accept of the same, as what would be to his great content. His pains increased that night; and next morning,

8. About eight, this gentleman died, about half an hour before the high water, when he said himself he should die. His end, by all the Christian judgement that can be made, was happy as to his soul; but the fate that cut off his life was extremely remarkable, upon a consideration of all circumstances. He was sitting in a lady's chamber, against which there was opposite the quarter of two poor soldiers, that of all the town did only use this place; from whence a soldier, clearing his musket, by misfortune sent a random bullet, which, at the distance of four hundred yards, had force enough to pass a deal plank, which was the lower part of a window, against which Mr. Wright sat with his back: this went through the fleshy part of his body, and he took it out on the opposite side, between the flesh and the shirt, which it had not force to pierce. In this window there was always used to stand a black box with linen, which, to avoid the rains, my wife had caused to be removed two days before; this had else probably preserved

his life. We were alſo making up that part of the window, which was only thin wood, with lime and ſtone, to prevent the rains that came in at the wood: and my Lord, if the accident had not happened as it did, in a few days was reſolved to pull down thoſe ſoldiers quarters from whence the bullet came, as being in the way of his new fortifications. His Excellency had invited Mr. Wright that very day to dinner, from whence by much intreaty diverted at the perſuaſions of another: probably, if my Lord had had him at dinner, they would have been kept there a longer time. His Excellency was going to walk upon his new works, juſt where theſe ſoldiers had quarters, which would have prevented the ſoldiers daring to fire their arms; but, as my Lord was going, came ſome violent rains, that forced his return to the caſtle. Thus we ſee how many ſmall things might have prevented this accident, and upon what chances depends the life of man. God grant that I and mine, and all good men, may live in that condition, as "not to be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day;" upon which text, being Pſalm xci. 5, Mr. Sherwin, who preached his funeral ſermon, made an excellent diſcourſe.

The weather proved exceeding calm and fair; the wind continued N.W. All things at the Mole paſſed according to the uſual method.

9. Continued the ſame wind and weather, and uſual progreſs of work.

10. In the morning roſe a freſh Levant wind, which did abate at night: our work at the key and middle pillars.

11. The Levant was abated, and the wind N. There went a great ſea at the Mole from the S.W.

12.

12. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, the weather fair, and wind came again to S.W. Mr. Taylor went for England aboard Captain Darcy.

13. We ſtaked out the new key to the town; and at the Mole we wrought upon the pillars to the Weſt and Eaſt, and at the key, &c.

14. We ſet the foundations of the key to the town, and at the Mole wrought as the day before; wind at S.W. brought ſome ſhowers, &c. The pink was hauled out of harbour, and the platform begun for the pillars.

15. We had the continuance of a S.W. wind, and our work had the uſual progreſs.

16. Brought in a mighty S.W. ſea; ſo that, being on the Mole with my Lord, I obſerved ſome ſtones, in the middle pillars laſt ſet, to be diſordered. Theſe pillars were not in a place much expoſed to the ſea, but had been built only a few days in a bad ſeaſon, ſo that the tarrace could not ſet; and for want of iron and lead, we were forced to make them of very ſmall ſtrength, in a manner without cement and good binding. There fell violent rains in the evening and the night, &c.

17. The night and morning preceding this day was exceeding tempeſtuous, with violent thunder, lightning, and ſuch floods of rain as I remember no where to have known the like. Captain Whitaker and George Gunner did declare the ſeas were this night the moſt raging of any they ever remember to have ſeen. There was not a ſtone ſtirred in the Mole, nor the leaſt of any damage to the work in moſt danger, and which was the moſt expoſed; only, as is before obſerved, upon view this morning, the laſt middle four pillars being each but three courſes high, and ſo wanting the upper courſe of being finiſhed, had the ſtones of this third courſe diſordered,

and

and in a good meaſure caſt down. Theſe four courſes had been laid in the four days juſt preceding; too ſhort a time, in the winter ſeaſon, and whilſt it almoſt continued always rainy and tempeſtuous, to give our Tangier tarrace leave to ſet and harden. For want of materials, the ſaid courſes, thus diſordered, had neither the defence of piles, nor were ſoldered with lead, nor iron-bound, ſo that they wanted all manner of additional ſtrength; nor were they compoſed of ſtones above half the dimenſion as thoſe which we carry to the pillars in ſummer: however, the damage was not above forty or fifty ſhillings, and might have been repaired in one tide, but that I ordered this to be delayed until a fairer ſeaſon for the tarrace, which alone in this place moſt men judge would be a ſufficient ſecurity for theſe pillars, if it came once to cement and harden. Towards evening began again violent thunder and rain. One clap of thunder, about ſix, was very remarkable, being ſuch as none that heard it did remember ever to have heard the like, for a good while after the clap was heard ſomething juſt like the ſinging of a cannon bullet.

18. Began with exceeding rains; about one in the morning the ſeas were ſuch as none ever do remember to have ſeen the like, ſcarce in any proportion; though the neaps were entered, the tide did flow higher than at any ſpring. The ſeas came more into the buildings on the Mole than in any preceding year. My Lord, who from the Caſtle took a view of the ſeas, told me, "They ſeemed much greater than any the preceding winter." And it was the general opinion, that never was in Tangiers known or ſeen ſuch ſeas as thoſe of this night, ſince his Majeſty had poſſeſſion of the place. It was a mighty ſatiſfaction to find none of the finiſhed work in the leaſt to ſuffer, but ſeemed to lie for ever unmoveable. Some more prejudice

was done to ſome courſes of the middle pillars, that had no protection, nor ſubſtantial binding; yet this was no more than what might be repaired in five or ſix days, at no other charge than the bare daily pay to five or ſix labourers; and it was generally concluded, theſe very pillars did preſerve the oppoſite part of the Mole which was beat down laſt winter, becauſe two courſes of the ſaid pillars remained good, which was almoſt to high-water mark, and ſo a mighty protection: nor did the third courſe yield but after a very conſiderable reſiſtance.

This day I received a petition from the officers attending at Whitby, which was delivered, in a paper ſealed and directed to me, by Mr. Shere. The effect was, to repreſent they underſtood, becauſe of Mr. Taylor's departure, that I intended to ſet over them ſome officer of the garriſon, which they did reſent as a reflection on them; and deſired me to commiſſionate for that ſervice ſome one officer that was at the preſent employed. Their ſuſpicions were groundleſs; but I did much diſcountenance their proceedings thus by way of petition in a matter that did not concern them, which might be, for ſeveral great reaſons, of ill conſequence. I deemed the thing paſſed by contrivance of Mr. Shere, though he appeared not in it, out of a jealouſy of Captain Giles's being introduced, a perſon moſt incomparably qualified.

The ſeas continued all this day very high; but was abated from the violence of the night tide.

19. Being Sunday, and my wedding-day, paſſed as uſually, the ſeas ſtill high, but abating; the wind N.W.

20. Came to the Mole, from Mr. Bowles, a ſhip with oats and barley, under Sir William Jenings's convoy. The ſeas

ran ſtill ſo high we could do nothing but caſt in ſome backing ſtones; but I laid the foundation of two pillars in the pink.

21. In the morning Sir William Jenings paſſed by, with about thirty merchant ſhips under his convoy, at a good offing from Tangiers, the wind blowing extreme hard at N.W. ſo that we made no other progreſs than as the day before. It was very clear and cold weather, though the wind exceeding high; the ſeas were much abated.

22. The wind changing to S. and S.W. it proved very tempeſtuous, with thunder and rains. In the morning the wind abated, and the ſeas, though agitated, not very conſiderable. The wind was in the morning N.W. which brought Sir Edward Sprag in view; but the wind turning to N.E. hindered his coming in that day; and at night the winds roſe, with rain and other prognoſtics of ill weather, ſo that it was about midnight ere Sir Edward got into harbour.

23, 24, 25. The wind was very various, and the weather exceeding cold, with a N.W. wind for the moſt part, ſometimes at S.W. which cauſed rains and bad weather. On the 24th, Captain Bexby, in the Spread Eagle, came very opportunely with ſeveral ſtores for the Mole. Our work was the ſame as in the days preceding. The pink I got half finiſhed with pillars.

26. Being Sunday, we entertained Sir Edward Sprag, &c. at my houſe. In the evening ſprang up a moderate Levant.

27, 28. The Levant continued, ſo that Sir Edward could not leave the port. Our progreſs was at the Mole, key, and pink, as uſual, much of our time being employed in unloading the two ſhips with ſtores.

March 1ſt. The wind abating, Sir Edward weighed in the morning. Very early it was a very low ſpring, and a freſh

Levant roſe with the ſun. Our work at the Mole had been chiefly filling backers; at the key and at the pink as uſually.

2. Was an exceeding low ſpring. Our progreſs in every reſpect as the preceding day. In the night the wind changed to the S.W. and blew very hard all day; which was a ſign the ſtorms of the winter were not yet over, and have already held longer than thoſe of the preceding year.

3. The night preceding was exceeding rainy, but not violent; little wind; but at the Mole a heavy ſea, ſuch as comes with a calm. The day was the ſame, which did hinder all manner of work at the Mole.

4. The continuing rainy from the S.W. made an extraordinary ſea at the Mole, which continued in the day, the ſea being all feathered, and calm as to wind. The rains abating, Captain Bolland, and ſeveral officers that took a view of the ſeas, with the officers of the Roebuck, did aſſure me, they never ſaw ſo heavy a ſea as that of this day upon the ebb; nor was it any time known to break more in the bay, or the ſea to roll with greater feathers than at this time, which happened alſo at the height of a very high ſpring, being near the equinox, which ſpring is obſerved to be the higheſt in the year.

5. The night was very rainy and tempeſtuous; the wind coming to the N.W. cauſed the continuance of the ſame mighty ſeas, ſo that it was generally ſaid by all, that this ſtorm was not only the greateſt, but had continued longer than any other with the ſame violence. In the day the ſeas, though very great, were ſomething abated; but the wind and rains continuing, were bad prognoſtics of any good weather. The day, being Sunday, paſſed as uſually.

6.

6. The ſeas, though ſtill high, were much abated. We ſpent ſome time in repairing the pier that protects the cart-way to the Mole, which was damnified by the continuance of the laſt ſtorm; and one ſtone out of the upper courſe on our laſt pillar, called the Yorkſhire pillar, was caſt down, being the middle ſtone on the inſide. This courſe was ſet in winter with our Tangier tarrace, which from the ſtorms was immediately waſhed out, ſo that it held only by the ſtrength of the croſs bars that kept all together. This was all the damage of this great ſtorm; no more than what three or four men may rectify in a few hours time. But for the better ſecuring this pillar (which, for ſeveral reaſons, was much the worſt that had been made) I intend, when good tarrace comes, to take down the two upper courſes, and hope I may hereafter have time enough to have all the pillars made before the end of ſummer; by which means I may depend upon the ſetting of the tarrace-work, and this is a ſtronger cement than all the iron binding that can be applied.

7. The ſeas continued as the preceding day. We finiſhed ſome imperfect courſes in the pink, and caſt great backers into the end of the Mole, between the cheſt and the pillars, &c.

8. The preceding night and morning was again very tempeſtuous, with violent rains, wind, and thunder. The wind coming to the S.W. it cauſed the ſeas to rage as much as ever, but that they fell with leſs weight of water, becauſe the ſprings were abated; but, according to my obſervations, if the wind and rains continue, the next ſpring is likely to prove very ſtormy, being juſt after the equinox. It being Aſh-wedneſday, I met my Lord in the church, who aſſured me, as did ſeveral others, that the night was ſuch a horrid tempeſt as yet had not been ſeen; and that the ſeas, though upon the neap, were as

great

great as ever; which cauſed me, with ſeveral of the town, to paſs upon the Mole, where I confeſs I found the ſeas to my thinking much greater than I had at any time ſeen them, all paſſing without any farther damage to the Mole; but the winds and rains ſtill continued, though the wind changed to N.W. and by W. which coming after at S.W. made this rage, and kept the tide from ebbing out ſo as was never known before, and is a good argument that this ſtorm was ſuch as the old inhabitants did affirm had not happened before in twenty years time.

9. Rained all night and day; but the wind abated, and the ſeas were leſs towards evening. Major White gave me an account that the eaſternmoſt pile, which had been long ſhaking, was carried away. This pile was only driven into the ſandy foundation, but ſo far beyond the work, and ſo late in the year, we could not fill it with ſtone to the low-water mark. There was no further damage from this great ſtorm, which I ſuppoſe we may conclude will be the laſt of this year. The pile was found the ſame day without any damage, excepting the loſs of the ſhow.

10. The winds and rains were wholly abated, and alſo the ſeas, and the wind come again to N.W.; the weather fair and clear. Our progreſs according to our late practice.

11. Was the ſame weather, fair and calm at night; the ſky was duſky, and promiſed more rain. We finiſhed the pillars in the pink, and continued our uſual work at the Mole. A boat from Spain in the evening brought the diſmal account of damage done by the city of Cadiz, and the loſs of many houſes and many men and ſhips in the port; God, in mercy, preſerving all at Tangiers from the fury of it!

12. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, with ſymptoms of more rains.

13.

13. The wind at W. was cold, and promiſing rains. Our progreſs as was uſual. I began to caſe the inſide of the Mole, and make it the full breadth.

14, 15, 16. Was always rainy in ſmall ſhowers. We got the pink fitted to ſink with pillars; a gallery laid for a bridge from the Mole, and ſtone in readineſs: and our progreſs was upon the inſide of the Mole and at the key, &c.

17. I was upon the Mole before four in the morning about ſinking the pink, which we ſunk about ſeven exceeding well, and all the pillars ſtood very upright and well; but as we were fitting the ſtage to bring ſtones, the ſeas came with ſome violence, and the veſſel, being old and worm-eaten, was preſently broke in the middle, as if twiſted off, which wronged much thoſe pillars that were next the Mole, which was two; the other two ſtood exceeding well, and the whole anſwered much of the end propoſed, and let us ſee the error we committed in making the pillars faſt to the timbers of the ſhip, which was the only occaſion of the injury they had; and therefore, for the future, we have great hopes we may prevent this, by making the pillars ſo that they may have no dependance upon the ſhip.

18. Was all night and day one continued rain; which fell with no extraordinary violence, but did much hinder our work at the Mole.

19. Being Sunday, the rains continued ſtill, almoſt without any intermiſſion.

20. The ſame rains continued, ſo that there was little work done at the Mole.

21. The wind changed from the S.W. to W. and N.W. and the ſky was clear; but the weather ſtill continuing exceeding cold, made us think the rains were not yet ended. At the

Mole

Mole we wrought upon facing it on the inſide, and as uſually in caſting-in great ſtones for a farther progreſs. In the evening I paſſed to Whitby, and took notice in what poſture of defence were our men, in caſe of any aſſault. I found all things in indifferent good order, but the whole wanting ſome principal officer; and therefore I moved my Lord, that Captain Giles might be appointed to take ſome general care of the place, eſpecially in caſe of any aſſault.

22. Was fair, the wind at N.W. but exceeding cold, which made us fear more rains. All things did continue at the Mole as the preceding day.

23, 24, 25. We proceeded in the ſame way, and were ſtrengthening Whitby all we could.

26. Being Sunday, began a ſtrong Levant.

27, 28, 29. The Levant continued. We were working at the way from the town to the great Mole, and at the inſide of the great Mole, and with ſmall piles, to ſecure the inſide foundation; and beſides, as uſual, were caſting ſtones for a foundation for more pillars.

30, 31. The Levant was much abated. We proceeded as the day preceding.

April the 1ſt. The wind came to the W. was very fair. We brought up the ſecond courſe of a pillar on the inſide, which did ſecure all the facing-work on the inſide. We wrought at our ſmall piles, and carrying on the facing-work inwards at the key to the town, and caſting-in fillers to make more foundations for pillars on the outſide. At Whitby we had been making that place more ſecure, by additional walls, new gates and batteries, &c.

2. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, being very calm and fair, the wind at N.W. Mr. Luke began his journey for England,

England, and Mr. Macmath returned from Spain, bringing me letters from Mr. Pepys, with bills of exchange for 15,000 pieces of eight, and the linen ſent from Rouen by Monſ. Legendre, which got ſafe, and in good condition.

3. Was alſo fair, ſo that we got our ſtage fitted, and drove a pile to the weſtward in the outer row, and on the other work did proceed according to cuſtom.

4. Continued calm and fair, ſo that we drove two great piles, and proceeded as uſually.

5. Began with a Levant, and brought five ſail of Dutch ſhips, bound for Smyrna, to anchor in our road; our progreſs in the Mole was according to cuſtom, and we drove two other piles.

6. Was a perfect calm; the Dutch ſhips went away in the night, and Captain Pool paſſed by to Cadiz, with ſeveral merchants under his convoy, bound for England. We drove two piles; and I ordered, by my Lord's leave, our two brigantines, well equipt, for Cadiz, to bring from thence fifteen thouſand pieces of eight, the only money returned for our Mole ſervice ſince my coming out of England, being about eighteen months.

7. Our brigantines parted about ſeven in the morning; the wind came to W. and N.W. the weather fair. We drove two piles, and proceeded as uſually.

8. Between twelve and one in the night began ſome violent ſhowers of rain; the day was overcaſt and cloudy. We wrought at the Mole as was uſual. I took my uſual phyſick the third time.

9. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually. Our two brigantines left the pott early in the morning; having returned to it the

day before by bad weather; in the evening, Captain Pool came to an anchor, in ſearch of ſome of his convoys; the wind N.W.

10. Sprang up a moderate Levant. The ſhips which Captain Pool came in ſearch of paſſed by on the Spaniſh ſide, which made him weigh, and after them. Our proceed at the Mole was the driving two piles, and according to our cuſtomary practice.

11. The wind changed to N.W. It brought in a conſiderable ſea at the Mole-head, but was calm in the offing. We proceeded in driving piles, &c.

12, 13, 14. Was fair, ſo that we got forward with ſeveral piles. We laid at Whitby the foundation of our new fort, and the foundation to ſecure the point which my Lord Middleton judged moſt expoſed: we wrought at the key to the town, at facing the Mole inward, and at caſting backers to make a foundation for more pillars into the ſea, &c. the wind N.W. brought on the 14th our brigantines with the money from Cadiz, viz. fifteen thouſand pieces of eight for the Mole.

15. Continued the ſame weather and progreſs. We drove three piles, which made twenty-one.

16. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually. Fair weather, and the wind N.W.

17. Was alſo fair, and continued the ſame wind.

18. Being the anniverſary day that brought me hither, was alſo fair, the ſame wind and progreſs; a great advance of piles into the ſea for defence of the ſummer work.

19. Continued fair, the wind N.W. at the Mole; the uſual work about driving piles, ſetting and facing the inſide, in bringing the key towards the town, in preparing a foundation for more pillars; and at Whitby we were employing our time

about

about the two great mines, and in the neceſſary fortifications and new buildings, &c.

20. The wind changed to a Levant, which did not hinder our uſual proceeding, and was calm towards evening.

21. Was exceeding calm in the morning.

22. Was alſo calm, ſo that we continued our uſual progreſs.

23. Being Eaſter Sunday, was principally ſpent in the ſolemnities of the day; towards evening roſe a gentle Levant.

24. The married officers of the Mole beat the batchelors at bowls; my Lord, and all of us, dined at Whitehall in an arbour; the Levant wind continued; we kept it holiday.

25. Was likewiſe calm in the morning, and a moderate Levant at noon; we paſſed this alſo as a holiday.

26. Was very calm, and we did as much work at the Mole as was expected during this week of holidays, and ſix months pay which I ordered at this time to be iſſued. In the morning came into the Road five Teriffa boats, that had landed in the night about one hundred men on the other ſide of Cape Spartel, and took from the ſhore a booty of about thirty-ſix Moors, men, women, and children, which was conſiderable, and diſcovered by the help of ſome Tangier inhabitants, Portugueſe fiſhermen, that they landed at night, who made this diſcovery. The weather was cloudy, and there fell ſome ſmall drops of rain. My Lord began to clear the lines.

27. The wind came to S.W. which, from the great ſeas at the Mole, we judged had been of longer continuance out at ſea. The Roebuck frigate, and the Ketch, made preparations to clean within the little Mole; all the day was full of rain and ſhowers.

28. The wind continued the ſame; the Roebuck, Captain Siddale, and Ketch, Captain Anguiſh, came within

the little Mole, where, in one tide, they both made clean one ſide, and brought the other ſide in the night, which had alſo been made clean that night, but

29. For ſome violent ſhowers of rain, which did hinder the morning tide, and alſo all work at the Mole; but about three in the evening they began to clean the other ſide, ſo that the frigate got that night to ſea; and,

30. Being Sunday, the Ketch alſo got out into the harbour. In the morning we had an alarm, as if Taffelitte was with his army coming before the place; this did happen from a conſiderable party of Moors in the fields weeding their corn, and beſides there being ſprung many new white weeds, and the day being hazy, made theſe, at a conſiderable diſtance, appear like ſo many men in their alhagues; this alarm put all in a great readineſs in their poſt, eſpecially at Whitby.

May the 1ſt. My Lord cauſed the trained bands to appear, which made ſo good a ſhew, that his Excellency had deſigns to put theſe into a regiment. At the Mole was little done ſince Eaſter, the holidays and the pay was a general diſturbance; the weather was various, but cloudy, and inclining to rain.

2. The morning began with ſhowers, and wind ſoutherly, which cauſed conſiderable ſeas at the Mole, and was ſome hindrance to our work, but more eſpecially the diſorder of the pay was not over.

3. Paſſed in the ſame manner.

4. Still we had very few at work, becauſe of the pay yet continuing, the great delay, and many debts, made a ſlow diſpatch; we began the third row of piles.

5. The wind came a fair Levant, and we did what we could

could with the few hands that appeared to work, from the former cauſe.

6. The wind changed towards night, which forced ſeveral ſhips back into Gibraltar, fair weather at S.W. and at the Mole no more work than the day before. It pleaſed God to grant me a great deliverance from a Mooriſh ambuſh that lay juſt without the linds, as I was riding upon the bank between Munmouth and James Fort, within thirty yards where lay forty Moors on the ſhelter of ſome wild oats, juſt without the paliſades; ſoon after I was gone, two ſoldiers paſſing without the lines, the Moors took one, and killed the other juſt as he was got within the paliſades; this happened about eleven in the morning.

7. Being Sunday, and exceeding fair, paſſed as uſually; the wind N.W.

8. Continued very fair and calm, which made it hot, ſo that I left off my Holland waiſtcoat, and a pair of Holland drawers. At the Mole we continued driving the third row of piles, and were preparing a foundation for more pillars, and had ready for about fifteen yards of forty, which I intended as the ſummers proceed. We were at Whitby enlarging our cook-room, by another much more commodious, and which made the houſe very ſtrong; in other parts the work had the uſual proceed of fair weather. About noon the Levant freſhened, which brought in ſight ſeveral ſhips from the Eaſt, which proved to be Captain Robinſon, in the Greenwich, and in his convoy were two tarrace ſhips, which brought a ſeaſonable ſupply to our work, of Roman tarrace, as much as would ſerve us at the leaſt for two years.

9. The Levant continued freſh, but ſtill fair weather; we

prepared upon the Mole a place to lodge our tarrace, and proceeded every where according to the uſual progreſs.

10. Still the Levant continued, but was much moderated, ſo that we began with a courſe of ſetting-ſtone fronting the outſide of our work to the North, joining to the cheſt, and this I did to confine the better foundation for the pillars; for our ſummer's ſervice, in other particulars, both at Whitby and the great Mole, was as uſually at ſpring tides.

11. The Levant ſtill continued, yet a little moderated, and ſame progreſs as the preceding day.

12. Was the ſame progreſs and wind, which, with the ſun, freſhened, ſo that it blew hard about noon.

13. I found the Levant had waſhed away all the new Roman tarrace, as well where we were ſetting-in the foundation, as where we were pointing ſome of the old pillars; this proved from the blaſh of the ſea, which ſucked out the tarrace, which made me order a tarpauling, and, beſides, a deal-caſe, that ſo we might protect the tarrace, until it was ſet as the laſt year.

14. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; the Levant ſo much abated, that it was in a manner calm. At the Mole I found the deal-caſe had preſerved the tarrace pointing of one of the pillars, notwithſtanding the violence of the Levant the preceding day.

15. This morning continued calm, and brought into harbour the Roebuck and Ketch from Cadiz, with a gobar of deals; about noon the Levant roſe again, and blew freſh; at the Mole we began to clear the laſt pillar for new-placing it, and pointed ſome of the others with the beſt tarrace, which we found to mend when beat better; we made an end of mowing the ground; at Whitby we continued our buildings, and drove more piles at the Mole.

16. The

16. The Levant continued freſh, but did not hinder the uſual progreſs of work.

17. In the night and day it blew often hard, and in guſts, the wind at E. and ſometimes N.E. We continued at the Mole the ſame progreſs; and about ſix at night blew up a great mine, which had twenty-five barrels of powder, and did moſt excellent execution.

18. It blew again in the night very hard in guſts, the wind eaſterly; in the morning was pretty calm, ſo that there was appearance the Levant would quite abate; yet it blew freſh at noon, and abated again at night.

19. The Levant continued, but with ſigns of abatement; we laid a-new the foundations of our laſt pillar, and pointed ſeveral pillars that were defective with new Roman tarrace on the top of the pillars; but what we laid in the ſides was moſtly waſhed out, notwithſtanding the tarpauling and deal-caſes, by the violence of the preceding Levants, which made me reſolve the pointing the ſides only in fair weather.

20. It blew a freſh Levant wind; we laid looſe a ſecond courſe in the new-altered pillar, and pointed the tops of ſome of the old pillars; it was fair, and I cauſed ſome ſmall pieces of pine to be ſet cloſe, tied to the piles, for defence of the pillar we were making. This day brought hither Sir Francis Bedingfield, eſcaped from Spain.

21. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, it ſtill continuing a ſmall wind eaſterly.

22. The breeze was eaſterly, but very fair, ſo that I gained the ſecond courſe of the pillar in hand exceeding well, with our new Roman tarrace, and new pointed the tops of the pillars, and proceeded in other things as uſually.

23. Was

23. Was perfectly calm in the morning, the wind gentle, and at South; however there was some surf at the Mole, which did not hinder the progress of work in the tarrace well setting, both as to pointing the old, and gaining the second course of the new-altered pillar, on which we also laid a third course dry.

24. Which third course was perfectly gained, and set the morning tide; the wind, weather, and progress, proving as the day before.

25. In the night, and again in the morning and noon, fell some small showers or drops of rain; at the Mole we were employed in taking down another pillar, to set the same more outwards, and also in making foundation for more pillars, working with eight great carts, and four little ones, of which one was constantly employed at the key to carry the great setters, and another to carry small stones. At Whitby we were in hand with the fort, and making the foundations of a wall for the hospital. This day finished the bringing-in the hay, &c. The wind continued at S.W. and blew fresh, which caused a considerable surf at the Mole, especially in the evening, the wind coming to the N.W. and blowing fresh.

26. In the night was a considerable sea at the Mole, and it was so cold in the morning as to occasion a fire; the wind and progress at the Mole as the day preceding.

27. The N.W. wind continued cold, and fair sky; but at the Mole a considerable surf; we laid the foundation of our new pillar, and proceeded in the other work according to our usual custom.

28. Being Sunday, passed as usually, the N.W. wind blowing fresh and cold, but very fair weather.

29. Early

29. Early in the morning fell ſome very conſiderable ſhowers of rain, which wet very much; the wind being at S.W. made all exceeding cold like the winter in the mornings. Being the King's birth-day, there was generally a ceſſation from all public labours; but, becauſe of the ſpring-tides, I cauſed ſome few hands to work at the preparing foundations for more pillars. My Lord made great entertainments, and the day paſſed as uſually.

30. The wind ſtill continuing, and the cold air, which made us apprehend more rain; ſo that at the Mole we only prepared a ſecond courſe for more pillars, and ſet ſome courſes on the inſide of the Mole, proceeding in other works according to the uſual progreſs. There fell alſo in the night preceding this day ſome ſmart ſhowers of rain.

31. The wind was at S.W. and blew very freſh; we proceeded at the Mole as uſually; in the evening I diſpatched the Vine of Yarmouth, John Kell maſter, of about one hundred and forty tons, for Farro, laden with lime and tiles, &c. and the Mantle, Captain . . . . . for St. Lucar, to lade with bricks. Having the freight exceeding cheap, I was willing to make an eſſay whether we might not, with more ſecurity, drive a trade for all neceſſaries to Tangiers in Engliſh veſſels, rather than in other bottoms. This afternoon the ſky was very hazy, and inclining to rain, with more heat than for ſome days paſt.

June 1. All the night preceding, and in the morning, it rained in violent and ſmall ſhowers; the day was couered, reſembling winter, rainy weather, but with more heat. Captain Mantle and Kell were becalmed in the harbour, as was the Roebuck, and man of war ketch, which were to convoy the ſaid ſhips, and carry Mr. Shere to Cadiz, ſent by my Lord to the

Duke of Medina, about diſembarking the wood which we had cut in Spain.

There went a ſurf at the Mole, which did not hinder our ſmall progreſs, &c. and in the morning Mr. Shere proceeded on his journey with the other ſhips; the wind was more weſterly.

2. The wind N.W. which kept the ſaid ſhips in ſight all day; at night came in a great galley of fifty tons, laden with burning, which I ſent for from Spain, to make an experiment, and found I could have burning cheaper here than in the river Thames. The weather was very fair, and we gained excellent well another courſe in the pillars, and pointed ſome others, and proceeded in other places as uſually.

3. Was again fair, and we proceeded as in the preceding day, &c.

4. Was Sunday; very fair and calm in the morning, but towards night a conſiderable ſurf from a N.W. ſea.

5. Did alſo begin with a very fair and calm morning, the wind gently at N.W. ſo at the Mole we did continue the uſual progreſs of work. The Moors fired the graſs.

6. Was in all reſpects as the preceding day; the wind S.W.

7. Sprang up a freſh Levant, as is very uſual in ſummer upon the beginning of the ſpring-tides; this did not hinder our uſual progreſs of work.

8. The Levant continued freſh, but leſſened towards night; our progreſs at the work as the preceding day; at night came letters from Cadiz, by the Deptford ketch, bringing the variety of news; of Sir Edward Sprag's ſucceſſes againſt the Turks at Bugia, and his farther hopes of ſucceſs againſt Algiers, &c. The burning the Eſcurial, to a mighty damage.

The

The endeavouring to ſteal the Crown out of the Tower; death of the earl of Mancheſter; the King of France alarming Europe, by his being at Dunkirk with a mighty army; and the great damage done by the Engliſh to the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, under command of one Morgan, at the Havanna, &c.

9. The wind at Eaſt blew more freſh, indeed raging ſo that the ſea was all in a white foam; yet I obſerved the harbour quiet, much more ſtill than formerly; ſo great quiet gave this laſt addition to the Mole, &c.

10. The wind was abated, yet we could not work at the foundation of a pillar as we intended.

11. The wind changed to N.W. and was fair, calm, and hot; being Whitſunday, was ſpent in the diverſions of the day, and at night two of our brigantines put to ſea.

12. We met at the Yorkſhire feaſt, and kept the holiday; the wind fair, and the ſea calm, &c. The brigantines that went out towards Cape Sparta did endeavour in ſeveral places to ſet on fire the ſand, which would not burn the corn and graſs, being green; the brigantines, about two of the clock, came before Old Tangiers river, entered the ſame with the barge and a boat, met ſome oppoſition, killed three Moors and a horſe, endeavoured to burn the corn in ſeveral places, but, being green, it was ſoon extinguiſhed by the Moors.

13. We alſo kept holiday; the wind came to the S. it was very miſty in the morning.

14. The wind continued at S.; there came in ſuch a ſurf, we could not proceed to the laying the foundation of the ſecond courſe in another pillar; many of our men were abſent, from the conſequence of the mirth of the holidays.

 15. Sprang

15. Sprang up a freſh Levant, which brought into the road Captain Herbert, the Deptford ketch, &c. They came and dined with my Lord, and would need put to ſea that night in a great ſtorm from the eaſt, and a very ſtrong tide, which carried their boats to leeward, and made us fear being dark, that they could not reach their ſhips. At night my Lord General, with moſt of the place, were to accompany the burial of Mr. Fitzgerald, Lieutenant to Major Fitzgerald; by misfortune, the floor of the outward room fell down by the weight of near one hundred men that were in it; it pleaſed God none were killed out-right, but about twenty wounded; my Lord and myſelf happened to be in the next chamber, and by good accident none were in the room under this that fell.

16. The Levant wind continued very raging, and made it unquiet within the Mole, notwithſtanding which all rid exceeding well under its protection. At the Mole, becauſe of the fierce Levant, we could do little more than throw over great ſtones into the foundations; many of the men were ſorely wounded, with broken arms and legs; of theſe, four officers belonging to the Mole, viz. Serjeant Colcott, Mr. White, Mr. Symons, and Barnaby Welcome; there was at the ſame time all the principal officers abſent, viz. Major Taylor, Mr. Wickham, and Mr. Shere, and alſo abſent one other of the inferior officers, Mr. Carey, whom I had ſent into Spain; however, the remaining officers bended each man to his buſineſs with more diligence, and all things moved in due order.

This day died one poor man of the bruiſe he had by the fall.

17. The Levant continued raging; Captain Herbert and the Ketch went for Cadiz. A ſhip, that came into the road the day before, proved to be laden with tarrace from Naples. We could

could not work at the Mole but by caſting-in great ſtones for the foundation.

16. The Levant was much abated in the morning, and blew again freſh at noon; being Sunday, the day was ſpent in the uſual devotions.

19. There was little wind; changed to S.W.; yet at the Mole there went a ſurf, ſo that we could not point the pillars with tarrace, nor proceed upon them.

20. Continued as the preceding day.

21. The wind came to N.W. but the ſea was more calm; about ſix at night, on a ſudden, the Levant wind ſprang up very freſh; the work at the Mole was chiefly about backing the piles, and making foundations.

22. The Levant wind continued very freſh, to the uſual diſturbance of the work as to pointing and gaining the pillars, ſo that the progreſs was about the foundations.

23. The night preceding, and in the day until towards evening, it blew ſo freſh and hard, that the general voice was, the like had not been known with a Levant, which brought in not only great but heavy ſeas. The common courſe of Levants is uſually inclining to the North; but this was Southerly, and brought in the ſea as contracted between the land and the town in the bay. We had one pile loſt, but nothing of the work diſcompoſed at all.

24. The wind abated, yet continued in the ſame place. The Moors appeared as uſually on this day in great numbers, to waſh themſelves, in honour of the Baptiſt. Little was done at the Mole, other than caſting great ſtones between the piles that were driven, and making a better foundation for more pillars; which was in itſelf a great work.

25. Being

25. Being Sunday; the Levant ſtill continued freſh, and paſſed as uſually.

26. Was calm; the wind at S. We got ſeveral pillars from the Weſtern cove, and proceeded at the Mole as uſually. Captain Herbert returned from Cadiz.

27. Continued calm and fair, and had the uſual progreſs.

28. About two in the morning ſome guns were heard, which was judged an engagement between a ſmall feloca of Tangiers, and ſome Moors on the ſand; about four of the clock it was ſeen to be plain fighting between ours and another ſuch boat, ſomewhat bigger than herſelf, which continued until about ſix, when one of our brigantines went out to ſee; but ſuddenly a fiſher-boat brought word that the Moors had the better, and that he found our boat empty, with only three of our men dead in it. Upon examination, it was found that the preceding night ſome volunteers went out on pretence of fiſhing, all well armed, but well in drink, about thirteen in number, who had the misfortune to be loſt, by another ſuch boat, which might contain about twenty men. This paſſed about a league and a half from the town, and within a leag of the Dragon frigate, commanded by Captain Herbert, whoſe boat by misfortune was gone to Tangiers, and his ſhip becalmed. Upon the bad ſucceſs of this accident, there was nothing but blaming one the other. Mr. Whitaker was blamed, for not ſending out our brigantine in time. He excuſes himſelf, becauſe the boats were not commanded by him, and that he ſent notice of it to Bolland, who pretended the notice was not ſpeedy enough for him to do any good; and blames Mr. Engliſh for ſending a boat out, and not giving him notice in the evening. Captain Herbert blames Bolland, for not purſuing the Moors boat unto their own coaſt, though the action was over.

over. He excuſes this, as a thing to little purpoſe, it being certain that the Moors had a place under a rock, to hale up the boat on the dry land, and guard it with ſecurity; beſides, the tide ran ſtrong, and ſuddenly the Levant roſe, which made that he could do no good with his oars, and, having done before bravely enough, ſlighted ſo unreaſonable an aſperſion, that he with ſuch a brigantine ſhould fear a ſmall boat, that had been ſhattered enough in the engagement. Thus one blames another, when the cauſe of all is apparent enough, for that the King allows nothing for the brigantines upon the eſtabliſhment, ſo that the men that go are all in a hurry, ſome ſeamen, ſome others; a thing to be lamented, though not to be helped, if things be not regulated otherwiſe from England. The ſame day the Clermont went out to convoy Mr. Shere from Teriffa; and at the Mole we proceeded as uſually in fair weather.

29. About noon was ſpied a boat, which we judged the Clermont, and another coming from the Weſt: about Cape Malabat, were ſeen three brigantines and ſatia, which were judged all to be Algerines: this occaſioned the haſty ſetting to ſea the Cholmeley and Anne, with Sir Francis Beddingfield's long boat; they had no proviſions more than bread, and very few ſeamen aboard, and orders not to paſs Cape Malabat, unleſs there was ſome engagement, becauſe our brigantines were all foul, and ill-appointed; and beſides we all judged the boat to the Eaſt the Clermont: but this proving a Spaniard that had been taken from the Moors, gave us intelligence that the ſatia was a Frenchman, the brigantines belonging to Algiers, and that they were in chace of the Clermont, which was the boat to the Weſt. This occaſioned our manning a French ſatia in port, with orders to engage; but night coming on, our brigantines came back, miſſing the ſatia, which returned alſo in a little

little time, and they all concluded that the Clermont got well back to Teriffa; about twenty guns were heard, which moſt judged was from the town of Teriffa; wind N.W.

30. We got our brigantine and the long-boat well provided, and ſent them to Teriffa, with inſtructions to convoy back Mr. Shere, and that they ſhould not divert their way in a chace which was fruitleſs, they being not clean, and our buſineſs rather to ſecure the port, than annoy the enemy; they were ſeen near Teriffa by noon, and had a fair gale at N.W. Our work at the Mole ſuffered by the indiſpenſable retardment: the proceed was chiefly (as I yet intend it for ſome months) about backing the piles, and making a foundation for the reſt of the pillars of this ſummer. I did obſerve a great alacrity in the ſoldiers for this ſea-ſervice.

July 1. Began with an alarm of about 30 Moors, that lodged themſelves within our lines, at the ſod-fort near Monmouth fort; many more were juſt without, and many had buried themſelves in the ſand, and had lodged themſelves on purpoſe to intercept our foot that diſcover the ground in a morning. They killed one of our men, and immediately haſted out; it is to be wondered more of our men are not killed, the lines being ſo inſecure: all might be prevented at an eaſy charge, at the tenth of what the pitiful fortines have coſt to make. I found the Naple's tarrace at the Mole to ſet and harden exceeding well.

At the evening our brigantines returned, and gave account that the 29th of the paſt month there came in ſight of the Clermont a ſmall boat, laden with onions, that they found on drift in the ſea, which they judged had been ſurprized by the feloca of Tituan, but happened to be a Spaniſh boat, where the men made eſcape into a barqua longa.

As the Clermont was near the African coaſt, appeared three large brigantines from the bay of Alcaſſer, which gained upon ours by their rowing: it being calmed, five ſeamen and a gunner were got into the ſmall boat, now at ſuch a diſtance ours muſt certainly be loſt if that we dared to relieve it; the ſoldiers had taſted of the wine they found in the brigantine; they refuſed to row, but ſaid they would fight, and the brigantines coming up were briſkly received by extraordinary good fire from our ſoldiers; the Levant coming freſh, ours made their way to Teriffa, ſtill fighting; when within a league of the Spaniſh ſhore, coming up with one brigantine, a lucky ſhot tore their main ſheet, and as all judged killed their Captain; upon which all did immediately bear away, and ours with much applauſe were received at Teriffa.

Little was done at the Mole, yet we kept our great carts going, and the weather was fair; the wind N.W.

2, 3, 4, 5, of July. Continued fair, and the ſame wind, and had the uſual progreſs of work in this ſeaſon.

6. The night preceding ſprang up a freſh Levant, which continued all this day, as was our uſual work.

7. Brought in with the Levant two of his Majeſty's frigates, commanded by Captain Waterworth and Captain Courtney.

8. The Levant ſtill continued, and we our uſual work.

9. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; my Lord and the Sea Captains dining with me. About five at night Gibraltar point cleared, ſign of the Levant leaving; and ſuddenly the wind came up to a gentle N.W.

10. At night was heard much firing Weſtward, which continued in the morning near Cape Sparta; we are yet in ſuſpence what was the action, and ſhips paſſed into the Streights; it was taken notice of that neither of our frigates weighed;

the wind N.W. and fair, ſo that we proceeded with all hands; at night two of our brigantines went towards Cape Sparta, on ſome intelligence that a Mooriſh boat was ſeen there.

11. Early our brigantines returned, bringing word that there were two Spaniſh boats near Cape Sparta, in ſearch of Moors, which they expected from Arzilla. About noon came a ſhip into the road, which brought word that the Engliſh convoy, in whoſe company ſhe came, was at Cadiz. The wind continuing at N.W. and the weather fair, we were working at the pillars over againſt the Queen's ſtairs, and balking the piles for a farther foundation for more pillars.

12. The wind changed to the Eaſt, blew moderately, at noon more freſh: about four in the afternoon from the Eaſt paſſed ſix Spaniſh galleys towards Cadiz. The progreſs of our work did continue according to our uſual cuſtom, and towards night the wind changed to N.W. and fair.

13. Was in the morning perfect calm, the wind at N.W. We proceeded in pointing the pillars, and protecting thoſe before Queen's ſtairs with our uſual work.

In the afternoon Mr. Bland, Major, had a great affront paſt upon him by Captain Waterworth, at Captain Trelawny's. The occaſion thus; ſome Spaniſh boats coming to town (ſoon after the common diſcourſe which paſſed reflecting on the Sea Captains for not following the ſhip that paſſed into the Streights the tenth) had declared upon the Mole, to Mr. Shere, Captain Bolland, and others, that all the news they knew was, that a Sallee man of war, commanded by a Black born at Arzilla, had taken a Frenchman, coming from the Weſt Indies, in a veſſel called a Peſtach, and that the value was thirty thouſand pieces of eight. This news ſuddenly filled the place, ſo that, upon the 11th, at bowls I heard it thus far publicly related, that

the firing heard on Monday morning was fighting between a Weſt Indiaman and the Turks, that had taken a prize worth ſix hundred thouſand pieces of eight; which report I then replied to, and ſlighted as a thing impoſſible ſo ſuddenly to be known; and ſaid that I had more apprehenſions for Captain Mantle, commander of an Engliſh ſhip, whom I had ſent for bricks into the river of Sivilla, and of whoſe readineſs to depart thence I had ſeveral days advice. All this time I was ignorant that this report had ſo much ground as is ſpoken in what was related to Mr. Shere and Captain Bolland, and I thought it was quite vaniſhed as a thing without grounds; but, on the 12th, I was told, that my Lord was in great anger with Mr. Major, for that Mr. Jaſgoin, and another, ſaying, they heard Mr. Major ſay, "that Captain Jones, the interpreter, had related to him the ſad news of the Weſt India ſhip, and that he ſpoke the thing ſo as if all had happened that day the guns were heard, and might have been prevented by good diligence in our commanders." My Lord looked upon the report as reflecting in ſome meaſure on himſelf, theſe frigates being directed from Sir Edward Sprag to follow his orders. Immediately my Lord ſends for Jones, commits him as the raiſer of ſcandalous reports, until he finds his author; he produceth three Spaniards; they declare the ſame to be ſaid by Mr. Major; my Lord immediately ſends the Spaniard to one Mr. Beecher, a German, Deputy Judge Advocate and Deputy Storekeeper, and Judge of the Court-merchant, who takes the examination upon oath, when Mr. Major is vouched as a reporter of the ſame. This was declared to me the ſame day in the evening; upon hearing of which, I ſpoke privately my trouble for ſo hard a proceeding as this ſeemed towards Mr. Major, who I underſtood complained that he was not heard ſpeak;

that the examination was taken privately, by a man not empowered to give an oath, his known enemy, and all the Juſtices of peace, as well as the Recorder, balked in the caſe; that himſelf had ſaid nothing but what was the common diſcourſe of the town, and ſpoken without any reflection at all; he made it further appear that Captain Jones ſpoke this at his houſe at nine in the morning, and that it was twelve the ſame day ere he ſaw the Spaniards, with whom he afterwards diſcourſed the ſame thing for farther information; and after this Sir Francis Bedingfield told me, that, examining the Spaniards, they ſaid that a Jew broker in the town had informed them, "if they took upon themſelves to be the authors of the report, they would have their noſes ſlit, &c. and that, having heard the Major diſcourſe of it, they could not do better than lay the diſcourſe upon him as author." I confeſs, this gave me ſome trouble, out of pure ſervice to my Lord, whom I honour. I knew all diſcourſes of this nature would bring reflections upon the mirth had paſſed in the place, and make drink ſome cauſe of all theſe miſcarriages. Beſides, what was ſworn againſt Mr. Major made no more than what might have been proved almoſt againſt every man in the place; ſo that I judged it might fill him with rancour, who was juſt on departure, had carried himſelf exceeding well during his Magiſtracy, profeſſed all ſervice for my Lord, which myſelf, as his Excellency's friend, to my uttermoſt had endeavoured to preſerve by all fair ways, that ſo Mr. Major might qualify all things in England the beſt he could for my Lord's ſervice, whom I knew neither to want obſervers at Tangiers, nor his enemies in England.

This day, being the 13th, in the afternoon, comes to me Mr. John Read, he that had been Judge Advocate. He ſaid,

"His

" His buſineſs was to give me an account of an unlucky accident of a quarrel, that had paſſed in his preſence at Captain Trelawny's, between Mr. Major and Captain Waterworth;" and relates the buſineſs thus: " Mr. Major coming to ſpeak with Captain Courtney, about the embarkation of ſome goods he had ſent aboard his ſhip, they fell upon diſcourſe of the Turks; and the Major ſaid, " They were grown much bolder than in former times, when they were ſo far from attacking men of war, many of them durſt ſcarce meddle with a good merchant-man; and that himſelf paſſing to Cadiz, thirty-ſix years paſt, in a merchant-ſhip of thirty-ſix guns, which he named, with the commander, met about the S. Cape ſeventeen ſail of Turks, who durſt not ſo much as attempt them, more than that one of the number gave a little chace for ſome hours." Upon this, Captain Waterworth replies, " That the ſtory was ſo unlikely as fit only to be told to children and fools;" and farther proceeded, " That it was no truer than the ſtory Mr. Major had raiſed about the taking the Weſt India ſhip, which three witneſſes had ſworn him to be author of." To this the Major replied, " The witneſſes lied, as did all thoſe that ſaid he raiſed the report," Upon this, Captain Waterworth ſhook his ſtick over Mr. Major, and with his hand puſhed his chair down, and threw him upon the ground backward; that Mr. Major, being on the ground, ſtruck ſeveral times at Captain Waterworth; that upon this Captain Trelawny and Mr. Read came in to part them; and both were gone to complain to my Lord." I told Mr. Read, " I was ſorry to hear this; and that it was a great indignity offered to the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate; and that, as he related the ſtory, Mr. Major had the firſt injury, and was the ſuffering man; that I thought it would be wiſe to accommodate the buſineſs in the beſt

beſt way, and with leaſt noiſe." Soon afterwards I was called upon to ſup with my Lord at Whitehall Gardens, where Colonel Alſop entertained us. There I found Mr. Major, and my Lord gave me ſome account of the buſineſs; told me he had confined Captain Waterworth, and commanded me to uſe my endeavours to make up the buſineſs. Both Mrs. Holloway, Sir Francis Bedingfield, and Captain Giles, who were by at all the diſcourſe that paſſed at Mr. Major's, did aſſure me, he ſaid no more than the common diſcourſe of the town; but Mr. Major did relate to me the laſt ſtory in a much different way. He confeſſes what he ſaid concerning the Turks, and avers it to be true; and Waterworth's ſaying it was fit only to be told to fools: that to this he only ſaid, "He might believe it as he pleaſed; but that what he ſaid was true." To which the Captain replied, "That it was a lie, like the report the Major had raiſed about taking the Weſt India prize, which three witneſſes ſwore upon him." To this the Major ſaid, "Thoſe witneſſes lied, as all did that fathered the report upon him;" that then Captain Waterworth ſtruck him, as he did afterwards the Captain ſeveral times; that all would have had him there taken up the buſineſs; but that he ſaid, "He would be ſatisfied with nothing but what my Lord ſhould order, and was ready to ſubmit to whatever he ſhould determine;" ſhewed a ſwelling in his head, which he received from the blow; and proteſted this to be the truth of the ſtory; and that the whole company was Waterworth's friends; and ſaid, "That the occaſion of his coming thither was in ſearch of Captain Courtney, to adjuſt with him about the freight of the goods he had ſent aboard his ſhip." I endeavoured to heal matters all I could, and in the end brought things to this paſs, that Mr. Major was willing to ſubmit every thing to my

Lord's

Lord's determination, according to his firſt reſolution, and to paſs by every thing upon Waterworth's declaration that he was in paſſion upon a miſtake, his declaring his ſorrow, and aſking pardon.

14. This morning I met again Mr. Read, who did acknowledge that Captain Waterworth gave Mr. Major the firſt lie. In the afternoon, Mr. Major met, at my Lord's, Captain Waterworth, and in his preſence the reconcilement was made; Mr. Major ſubmitting all to my Lord's pleaſure, and carrying himſelf diſcreetly; and Captain Waterworth's carriage was plain, and ſeemed ſincere; but in many things his ſpeech, at this time, was liable to new exceptions. All ended in full cups and mutual promiſes.

We had this day a freſh Levant, which ſprung up the night preceding. It was moderated toward night, and we proceeded on the pillars and the other work as uſually.

15. The wind ſtill continued a Levant, but was calm in the morning, and freſhened at noon, and was again fair in the evening, and all things at the Mole had the uſual progreſs.

16. Being Sunday, was very fair, hot and calm. The wind changed to N.W. Brought into the Road two victuallers, with news of more at Cadiz, which we might daily expect. About noon the reſt of the fleet, convoyed by the Crown, Captain Finch, got into the Road, with about fourteen ſail; and a little farther paſſed the ſix Spaniſh gallies. It was fair, with a little breeze at N.W. The ſea being calm made a moſt beautiful proſpect; but the weather was exceeding hot.

17. Continued fair, hot and calm, and had the uſual progreſs of work. Some boats were employed in unloading our oats and beans that came by this convoy, and the town was full of gentlemen paſſengers in the fleet.

18.

18. The wind changed to a Levant, and blew freſh. Our work at the Mole was, preparing a foundation for more pillars, which I had no ſtone to go forward with any, which put me to a great perplexity. I was forced to work upon the finiſhing the pillars before Queen Stairs, and to take ſtones from the front of the Mole.

19. The wind and all things had the progreſs of the preceding day.

20. Continued the ſame.

21. The wind changed to W. and was fair, ſo that Captain Finch, in the Crown, departed with the Tyger, and about fifteen in their convoy.

22. The wind at W. and N.W. brought Captain Mantle, with a lading of brick, from Sevilla, and carried Mr. Dee, in the Roebuck, to Teriffa. This morning, before day, the Moors broke down about thirty palliſadoes near the Sod Fort, which made us apprehend they intended ſome great ambuſh within the lines; and order was given, that no diſcovery ſhould be made of that ſide before nine in the morning.

23. Being Sunday, the wind kept ſtill at N.W. was fair, and paſſed as uſually.

24. Continued alſo fair, and we our uſual progreſs; wanting ſetting-ſtones for the pillars, we were preparing foundations. About five in the afternoon my Lord met myſelf upon the great Mole, with the Major and moſt of the officers and others of the town, with Captains Waterworth and Courtney, two commanders of frigates, Captain Mantle, and other three commanders of merchant-men. The buſineſs was upon a letter from Mr. Creed, of 27th of May, directed to my Lord General and myſelf, and, in the name of the Lords, commanding the conſidering a place for lodging and ſecuring of gallies. The

reſult

result was, for the present, two chains, of about one hundred yards each in length; one end to be fastened to the Mole, the other to an anchor with one fluke; and that the gallies might, by other chains fastened to this ground chain, moor head and stern; and that, for the farther security, from the end of this year's work at the Mole, should be made a small return about fifty yards in length and five broad; all which I signified to Mr. Creed, having first communicated my letter to my Lord General.

25. The wind at N.W. continued fair. We were preparing a foundation for more pillars, out of hopes of getting stones for pillars, which had been wanting most part of this summer.

26. The wind continued at N.W. until about five in the afternoon, when it changed to a Levant.

27. The Levant continued until evening, when it changed to N.W.

28. The wind was W. very fair. We had carried the inside foundation of the Mole from the Queen Stairs to the pillar at the East end on the inside, and this week laid the foundation of another pillar outward; but lost the fairest season that could be desired for making pillars, in regard we had no stones proper for that service within our lines, and the Lords Commissioners had positively restrained the going out of the lines, and securing better stone; and this notwithstanding all the advertisements I had given.

29. The wind and weather continued the same, and we blooded all our horses.

30. Being Sunday, was very calm; the wind N.W.

31. The weather continued fair, with the same wind. We got a course of small stones, to finish one of our new pillars.

August 1st. Began exceeding fair, with the continuance of the wind at N.W. until evening, when the Levant ſprang up. This day we got ſtones for a top courſe, to finiſh one of our pillars made this ſummer.

2. The Levant continued, and we made preparations to heighten another pillar. At night Mr. Bexly fell out of the window at Dr. Laurende's.

3. Still the Eaſt wind continued. About ten of the clock at night the wind changed to N.W. having been calm from the evening.

4. The N.W. wind continued, and it was calm and fair in the morning. We covered the tops of our pillars in a new way, which ſaved iron, and we made any ſtone ſerve for the laſt courſe.

5. The wind changed to the E. John Kell came into the Road from Faro, with quick-lime in good quantity.

6. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, the Levant continuing.

7. The Levant continued in the morning, and was calm at night. We finiſhed another pillar with tarrace, brick, and rough ſtone, which made two pillars finiſhed, and were only two old pillars new placed.

8. The Levant continuing moderate, we brought up the third pillar to full height.

9. In the morning about one Mr. Bexly died. The wind changed to N.W.

10. Was fair, and the ſame wind continued. We began the foundation of another pillar, and our quarries proved a little more fruitful than of late; ſo that I had good hopes not to want ſtone for perfecting our ſummer work. At the Mole a great ſurf from a S.W. ſea, which did rummage the looſe ſtones, without other prejudice at the head of the Mole.

11. The wind ſtill at S.W.: it was calm and miſty, which towards night ended in a very great fog. The work proceeded as uſually, and the wind changed to a Levant.

12. Was perfectly calm in the morning. About noon, the wind again at N.W. brought the ketch, with news from Captain Herbert, of a Mooriſh ſhip and two brigantines in a river not known to be navigable, about four leagues from Cape Sprat, where uſed to be the great fiſhing trade. At night Captain Herbert arrived.

13. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; wind N.W.

14. The ketch was ſent for Cadiz. The wind was at N. and N.E. in the evening, which made a ſurf at the Mole.

15. The wind came again to N.W. We got the pink fitted, and proceeded as uſually upon the Mole, three pillars being finiſhed this ſummer, and three others in a fair way to be finiſhed againſt the end of this month. At night we had news of the arrival of the flota, ſo that Captain Herbert weighed in the evening towards Cadiz.

16. The ſame wind and progreſs.

17. Was calm in the morning. About noon came up a moderate Levant, which carried ſeveral ſhips out of the Streights. At the Mole we were chiefly employed about the pillars, &c. Captains Courtney and Waterworth weighed in the evening.

18. The Levant continued, freſhening at noon; we were raiſing ſome of our laſt pillars, &c.

19. The ſame wind continued, as we our uſual progreſs.

20. Being Sunday, was calm, and the wind changed to the N.W. Mr. Luke came from Sallee with Mr. Clapham, who had been ſlave at Fez, and ſpoke very well of Taffeletta. We had an account, that the twelve men in the felucca were taken by eleven in a boat of the ſame bigneſs; that the Moors

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15. The wind came again to N.W. We got the pink fitted, and proceeded as uſually upon the Mole, three pillars being finiſhed this ſummer, and three others in a fair way to be finiſhed againſt the end of this month. At night we had news of the arrival of the flota, ſo that Captain Herbert weighed in the evening towards Cadiz.

16. The ſame wind and progreſs.

17. Was calm in the morning. About noon came up a moderate Levant, which carried ſeveral ſhips out of the Streights. At the Mole we were chiefly employed about the pillars, &c. Captains Courtney and Waterworth weighed in the evening.

18. The Levant continued, freſhening at noon; we were raiſing ſome of our laſt pillars, &c.

19. The ſame wind continued, as we our uſual progreſs.

20. Being Sunday, was calm, and the wind changed to the N.W. Mr. Luke came from Sallee with Mr. Clapham, who had been ſlave at Fez, and ſpoke very well of Taffeletta. We had an account, that the twelve men in the felucca were taken by eleven in a boat of the ſame bigneſs; that the Moors

reported they made ſmall reſiſtance, and were all dead drunk, which is a conſideration of much ſadneſs and ill report.

21. The ſame fair weather continued, which we improved by working on our pillars at the Mole, &c. Captain Anguiſh, in the Deptford ketch, returned from Cadiz.

22. Was alſo very calm and fair, and we made preparations for ſetting the foundation of another pillar.

23. Began calm, which made us forward the work well during the ſpring. In the morning was ſome appearance of a Levant; but ſoon overcome by the continuance of the N.W. which brought, about noon, a great miſt; the Roebuck frigate coming into the harbour to clean, and the Levant prevailing towards evening, and blowing freſh all night.

24. The Levant continued freſh, and the ſky promiſed ill weather, &c.

25. Still the ſame wind, but ſomething abated. Our proceed at the Mole as was uſual.

26. Was calm. Sir Francis Bedingfield went away in the morning. The Levant blew freſher towards noon. We got the foundation of a new pillar well laid, and well barricadoed, and in the pink made a good advance as to the foundation with brick and tarrace.

27. Being Sunday, the Levant was more fierce than the preceding days, but abated towards night.

28. The Levant continued; ſome drops of rain fell in the morning, the ſky promiſing ill weather, kept back by the Levant wind. We were working in the pink, and preparing a ſecond courſe for the outermoſt pillar to the Eaſt, and pointing others.

29. The ſame ill promiſing ſky continued, and there ſeemed ſtruggling between ſtorms from the E. and S.W. Some drops

of

of rain fell again; but the Levant prevailed, and blew freſh at night. We got a ſecond courſe upon the Eaſternmoſt pillar; and I began the inner wall, that confines the breadth of the Mole from the ſmall key. At night Captain Coleman, in the Portland, came into the Road.

30. The Levant continued, and carried the Portland for Cadiz; and we kept at the Mole our uſual progreſs.

31. Still the Levant held. This day I began to drive piles for making the new wharf and landing-place at the Mole.

September 1. Began with very calm and fine weather; gave me hopes that the great ſeas, uſual at this ſeaſon, were over, and had been hindered by the continuance of the Levant. We were making preparation for the third courſe to our laſt pillar Eaſtward, and at the reſt of the work according to our uſual practice. About noon the Levant wind freſhened again, and continued ſo the reſt of that day.

2. Was fair in the morning, but ſtill the Levant wind continued. We got the third courſe upon the Eaſt pillar.

3. Being Sunday. The Levant blew very freſh all day.

4. Was fair and clear, and the Levant much abated, but increaſed again towards noon. We ſpent our time in raiſing the end of the Mole, and making it level.

5. The wind off Levant blew more freſh. A pink came with thirty chaldron of coals for the garriſon, and twenty to ſell, which I bought for the Mole.

6. The wind was ſomething Southerly.

7. It rained conſiderably in the morning, and there came in a conſiderable ſea; it broke one of our ſmall piles, and diſplaced another. Wind N.W.

8. Was the ſame N.W. wind. We ſpent moſt of our time in raiſing the end of the Mole. The ſeas were conſiderable, as

they

they had been ſome days before, but little taken notice of, becauſe of the ſtrength of our work.

9. Being Saturday, paſſed as the former day.

10. Was Sunday, and paſſed as uſually, the ſame wind continuing.

11. Began early, with an extraordinary ſea, like unto thoſe in winter, which came in feathers and calms, after a S.W. ſtorm; it paſſed without doing the leaſt of harm; but the men lodging on the Mole did aſſure me the ſeas ſurpaſſed thoſe of the winter.

12. The tempeſt continued with conſiderable rains, and an extraordinary ſea fell in the night: all paſſed without doing any other harm, than breaking one pile, and removing the gravel at the end of the Mole, and rummaging ſome of the top ſmall ſtones; but the way to Whitby, without the gate, at the Mole end, was caſt down, and had more harm: this I obſerved alſo the laſt winter, yet very eaſily repaired by a few men in two or three days.

13. The ſeas abated, the wind at N.W. We repaired the gravel at the end of the Mole, ſo that the carts went upon it.

14. The ſame wind, and the weather fair. We were working in the pink, and making up that part of the Mole before the battery, which we had taken down for making thoſe pillars that did defend it, which ſtood well this laſt ſtorm, and gave a good proof of our Roman tarrace, becauſe one of the courſes was but ſet juſt two days before the ſtorm.

15. Continued fair, the wind ſtill at N.W. We were pinning the Mole with tarrace about the houſe on the outſide; we were filling the end of the Mole, and working in the pink. About four o'clock in the evening died Robert Moody, condemned

damned to be ſtrangled, and then burnt, for lying with an aſs.

16. Was alſo fair, wind at N.W. We proceeded in the ſame work as the preceding day.

17. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, the wind being S.W. in the morning changed again; about noon, to N.W. and it was very calm and fair.

18. Was calm and fair in the morning; about two in the afternoon the Levant wind roſe and blew freſh. We were ſtopping the mine at the great Mole, finiſhing Mary Pillar, and pointing all, and fitting the pink to ſink.

19. The Levant continued freſh, and we wrought as the day preceding.

20. Being the anniverſary day of my girl's birth, was fair and calm in the morning, and the wind changed about noon to N.W. About four of the clock we gave fire to our great mine, which had eight angles, and contained forty barrels; it did no great execution, partly becauſe of the ſtrength of the ſtone being exceedingly bound, but principally for that the powder was very bad; however it ſhaked and ſplit the ſtone, ſo that we had great hopes a new mine might do much execution. At ſupper, my Lord and ſeveral of the principal perſons were entertained at my houſe, and remembered my little girl's health. That day was finiſhed a new pillar, called Mary pillar.

21. The N.W. continued freſh. We were raiſing the pink, backing the end piles, pointing the outſide of the Mole with tarrace, and making the new key for a crane, &c. Captain Holmes came into the road in the Diamond.

22. Was fair, and the ſame wind and work. Captain Holmes departed in the night.

23. We

23. We got the pink finiſhed, and fit for ſinking; the weather exceeding calm, and the wind at N.W. Captain Fowles in the Holmes came into the road.

24. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually. About noon the Levant put in moderately.

25. The morning was exceeding calm. We laid the pink to paſs, to make the return for ſhelter of galleys, and got all filled with ſtone, and ſunk, ſo as to be about one foot under the low-water-mark: this pink was about eighty tons burthen; I was forced to build the in-part with brick and tarrace, becauſe it could not have carried weight of ſtone, which is full a third part heavier; as it was, ſhe carried a wall for two feet thick, bottom and ſides, and two feet and a half at the ends, and the length was thirty feet from the extremity of the end walls; the hole in the middle we filled with ſtone, to ſecure all; as alſo the acute angles, which were at each end of the veſſel. This ſort of building is vaſtly proper where the veſſel lies under ſhelter, for it has not any ſubſtance to reſiſt great ſeas, eſpecially if placed with the broad ſide to the ſea, elſe may ſerve for a foundation, but is very changeable and uncertain, and not near ſo applicable as the way of building with great ſtones and piles.

26. Was alſo calm, and the ſame wind continued. We were bringing up the wall on the outſide of the Mole next the pillars for eight feet, all tarrace to the high-water mark.

27. The Levant came in freſh, but did no hurt to the pink. We continued the work of the preceding day.

28. The Levant was abated, but our work ſtill the ſame.

29, 30. Was calm in the morning, and about noon the Levant roſe moderately. Our work the ſame.

October 1.

October 1. Being Sunday, was calm, and paſſed as uſually; the wind N.W. In the evening many guns were heard.

2. Was very calm in the morning, and a wreck of a ſhip ſpied in the offing, which cauſed the barge to put to ſea, followed afterwards by the Clermont and Cholmeley brigantines, which laſt returned in the night.

3. The Levant ſprang freſh, and about nine came in the Clermont and barge from Teriffa; the barge met the wreck, which they judged about two hundred tons; they brought away the King's arms, by which it was known to be an Engliſh ſhip, ſuppoſed left by the Turks, chaſed by ſome of our men of war. This day, by ambuſh from the Moors, about two in the afternoon, one of our ſentinels at Henrietta fort was killed.

4, 5. The Levant wind continued freſh; at the Mole the uſual progreſs, like to be the ſame the enſuing winter, being chiefly in backing and ſecuring what was done. About one in the afternoon happened a ſad accident at the quarries at Whitby: a gang of five ſtout and laborious Iriſhmen, that had wrought from the beginning of the work, by an unhappy fall of a great rock, two of them were killed out-right, and a third ſo ill-wounded, as to die in an hour or two; a fourth was ill-bruiſed, and the other eſcaped not without marks of the danger. I pray God preſerve all for the future: the powder does ſo ſhake the great mines, as makes it full of hazard working about the quarries.

6. The Levant wind continued in the morning, and changed towards night to S.W. and blew hard, and brought in a great ſea in the mid-night, without any hurt, but filling part of the foundation for the wall next the pillars with ſand, which we had been clearing.

7. The ſame S.W. wind continued, and it rained moſt violently in the morning, but the ſeas were abated towards high water, I think from the much rain that fell; for they increaſed again towards evening, and it was ſo raging in the night (the 8th), as ſeemed to equal the greateſt ſtorm, and beat out men as much as ever from their lodging upon the Mole, and did more hurt than was uſual unto the baricado without the gate going to Whitby: the pink ſuffered no hurt, and all was exceeding well at the Mole, only the gravel at the low end waſhed out; but the ſea had ſuch force as to remove ſeveral of our great ſetting-ſtones, of three or four tons each, that we had laid looſe at the end of the Mole, for the advancement of more pillars.

8. Being Sunday, followed this tempeſtuous night; it was calm, but the ſeas high and feathered, much abated towards night by the Levant, which ſprang up.

9. In the morning a ſmall Frenchman went out of port towards Spain; ſuddenly, from about the Point Sparta, was ſeen a Mooriſh brigantine, which gave chace unto the Frenchman; the wind was S.W. and the day dark and hazy; our brigantines, the Cholmeley and Clermont, paſſed in chace of the Moor, and we loſt them, the enemy ſtanding into the bay of Alouzer. The day was rainy, but towards night it fell in great quantity.

10. The wind was at S.W. and ſome rain. At the Mole we were bringing up the inſide from the Queen's ſtair, and raiſing the end.

11. The ſame wind and weather; and we were employed about the Mole as the preceding day. Our brigantines returned from Teriffa, and brought word they had run a-ſhore the Mooriſh brigantine, ſtaved to pieces in Meaſſer bay. The Roebuck returned.

12. Was fair, the wind at S.W. brought however a great ſurf upon the Mole.

13. We had news from Sallee of the veſſels being taken, in which were two maid for my wife.

14. Sir William Jennings paſſed by in the Princeſs, convoying ſeveral ſhips; he came on ſhore, and viſited my Lord and myſelf, and, after an hour's ſtay, returned; the wind gently at East.

15. The ſame wind; and towards evening more Northerly; and Sydy Abdalla, the Spaniſh renegado, that was Gayland's ſecretary, came to the lines, to redeem ſome jewels he had pawned, and to get in debts owing him, which were contracted whilſt he lived in the place in amity, and he went out with permiſſion. Withal we had an accompt Mr. Read was ſecured at Tetuan, upon pretence that Mr. Staines was his partner, who had the renegado's jewels; and that Mr. Read had in his poſſeſſion goods belonging to Mr. Staines; he durſt not come within the lines.

16. Captain Holmes in the Diamond, and Captain Fewles in the Holmes, came into the road; the wind at W. My Lord ſent the renegado exceedingly ſatisfied away with his jewels, and with a compliment to the King. Theſe jewels were of ſmall value, being chiefly ſome ſmall and uneven pearls ſet in gold.

17. The wind came to the N.W. There was no change in our work at the Mole from what it had been for ſome days, or what it is likely to be this winter, chiefly in backing the work, and bringing up the tarrace-wall next the pillars, and in facing the outſide.

18. The wind came to a fair Levant; and Captain Holmes went

went in the morning for England, firſt to Cadiz; and the Holmes frigate was preparing to clean.

19, 20. Was rainy in moderate ſhowers; the wind at S.W.

21. Was fair, and the wind at N.W.

22. Was Sunday, and continued fair. Captain Fewles came within the Mole, with intentions to bring his frigate within the little Mole to clean; but in regard it was a bad ſpring, although he had a foot water to ſpare, yet he would not venture in, but choſe to careen his ſhip.

23. Captain Founs careened both ſides by the Roebuck, a great deal within the Mole, in about eleven feet at low water; this was the firſt frigate that ever did careen in the Mole, a ſmall fifth rate, and yet of as great a draught of water as any other.

24. Captain Liddall careened his frigate, and both veſſels got to the chain. Several ſhips were ſeen in the offing, which gave us great hopes of my Lady Middleton's coming, but they paſſed moſt into the Streights. The wind N.W.

25. Brought a great ſea, and it blew hard at the N.W.

26. Was more moderate; the ſame wind continued.

27. Was the like.

28. The wind changed to the Eaſt moderately.

29. Being Sunday. It blew freſh at Eaſt. Mr. Bland Major emarked for England, paſſing firſt in the Roebuck to Cadiz; this and the Holmes ſailed in the night; moſt of the Aldermen accompanied the Major to the ſea ſide, but there were no guns given him at his departure.

30. The Levant continued, but the weather was hazy, and ſome rain fell towards night.

31. Was as the preceding day; turning towards night to an eaſy Levant.

November 1. Was fair, and yet cloudy, the Levant continuing.

12. Was

2. Was very fair and calm, the wind at N.W.

3. Was hazy, and had ſome moderate ſhowers, the weather being calm and fair, and the wind at S.W. and W.

4. Was rainy all night and day, in growing and moderate ſhowers; but about noon it rained very hard, and again towards night; yet we wrought at the Mole, in bringing up the great wall next the pillars, and backing the piles, which I found to be entered by the worms, and thoſe of pine moſt.

5. Being Sunday, began in the night with violent rains, and blew hard at S.W. which brought in a mighty ſea at the Mole. The day continued much after the ſame manner; but about two of the clock, clearing up, were ſpied three ſail, within a league of the harbour, which proved a ſmall pink, not judged above forty tons, and which put out Engliſh colours, chaced by two Turkiſh frigates, of about twenty guns. They manned out their boats, and took the veſſel, which we ſaw carried into the Streights, where the Turks were driven by the wind and current. At night the guns of the Town and Mole were fired, to keep up the ceremony of the day; but there could be no bonfires, becauſe of the exceſſive rains that fell towards evening, with much thunder.

6. The rains and thunder continued all the preceding night, and there fell a great ſea, with an extraordinary high tide, which came into the ſtables at Whitby. At the Mole all things remained well; but the way at the entrance on the Mole had ſome damage. The day continued raining in ſhowers, yet we wrought with our carts.

7. Was a moſt terrible night of rain and thunder, and the day continued rainy, and great ſeas fell at the Mole, without any damage. I began my uſual phyſic, having had about ten days a pain in my left arm, but not ſo violent as in ſummer, when

it

it held me about two months. I found nothing ſo good as a flannel ſleeve next my ſkin.

8. This night it rained very much, and with thunder. The ſeas ran higher at the Mole than they had done, without the leaſt of damage. In the morning appeared a ſhip with a flag in the fore-top, which came into the Road about nine of the clock, and proved to be the Dreadnought, commanded by Sir John Chitfly, who carried my Lady Middleton, with ſeveral gentlemen of quality that came from Court, as Mr. Savage, Mr. Auſtin, Mr. Nicholas, my Lord Clerемont. They landed about eleven of the clock, in as rainy a day as I have ſeen; myſelf keeping houſe with my uſual phyſic.

9. Was fairer. Upon ſurvey of the work, I found the Mary pillar ſplit towards the Eaſt corner, through the two top courſes, only in the tarrace and cement, which was repaired in a quarter of an hour, ſo that I judged it ſtronger than ever; and this we did by the help of tarrace putty. This was the laſt pillar, and had ſtood a moſt extraordinary ſea. The next pillar unto it, being not finiſhed, was ſhaken in the tarrace work, and two corner ſtones that were of a bad kind were diſordered; all which was afterwards repaired in ſix hours time, and gave me mighty ſatisfaction in this diſjointed ſort of pillar-work, where the damage was of very little importance, and eaſily repaired. All the company dined this day with my Lord, where we were nobly entertained.

10. The wind N.; was cold and fair. I entertained my Lord and Lady Middleton and all the company at dinner, and with dancing, and at ſupper.

11. The ſame wind and weather. We all dined at the Caſtle. This day Mr. Staines and Mr. Macmath were choſen the two for Major. At the Mole we repaired in a few hours

what

what damage the late ſtorm had done; and I ordered ſome more piles at the end of the work, and more backers to be caſt over for fortifying the work towards the ſea.

12, Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, my Lord and Lady Middleton dining at my houſe, and all the company who paſſed at night aboard Sir John Chitſley.

13. The wind continued cold and Northerly. We got in ſome piles before the laſt pillar, and were backing the work with ſtone. In the evening fell out an ill accident, between one Montgomery and our chief ſhip-carpenter Fluellin; being drinking, they quarrelled, and in the ſcuffle Fluellin was run into the belly.

14. We were entertained at the Caſtle. The wind blowing a very freſh Levant, cold and Northerly, we were working at the Mole as uſually.

15. Fluellin died. The fierce wind continued, and the work was as the day before.

16. The Levant blew extraordinarily in the night, and brought in a heavy ſea coming to the S.S.E.

17. In the night the wind was ſtill more fierce. In the morning I found the laſt pillar to the Eaſt more open in the crack, and receiving a very great ſea. The noon flood carried down this part of the pillar, and ſeemed more to crack that which ſtood. Some ſtones were ſucked in from the end of the Mole, to the advantage of the work, in making a better foundation; but this was ſo little, as two days ſtone would fill all to the full height; however, I cauſed ſome ſmall piles to be driven inwards.

18. The Levant was yet more raging in the night, and S.S.E. ſuch as was very unuſual. I found the work as it was ſomething more rummaged, were the looſe ſtones at the head

of

of the Mole, but very little. I viewed the laſt pillar, and found the breach only in the two upper courſes; and that half the pillar ſtood exceeding well, which made me not think of taking down that part which ſtood, but of repairing the reſt; and I cauſed more piles to be driven inwards. Fell ſome rain in the afternoon, and a great S.W. ſea, which made it plain that from this corner came the weighty ſeas driven in by the Levant.

19. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; but the preceding night was very rainy, and alſo the day, yet not in violent ſhowers.

20. I viſited the whole work, and found all the damage repairable for five pounds; and that the reaſon of the laſt pillar's decay was the hollow end of the inward part of the ſecond courſe, where there was left ſo great a vacancy, that the ſea ſucked out all the tarrace-work before it was ſet: however, the ſtones being at hand, all was repairable in two days by the labour of ſix men. I cauſed ſome more piles to be driven outward, and ſome other inwards, to hinder ſpreading of the foundation. The ſeas were abated, but the weather was ſtill rainy and louring.

21. Captain Hart arrived in the Rupert. The ſeas were more calm, and the wind abated.

22, 23. Was alſo fair.

24. Captain Hart departed early in the morning. It was a moderate Levant, and ſeveral Engliſh ſhips paſſed from the Eaſt towards Cadiz.

25. The night preceeding was exceeding rainy, and the day continued cloudy, the wind S. All cleared up towards night.

26. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; the ſky cloudy, and ſome ſmall rain fell, the wind N.W.

27.

27. It blew very hard in the night, which brought heavy ſeas upon the Mole, but without the leaſt damage. The day was fair and clear, the ſame N.W. wind continuing.

28. Was in all reſpects as the preceding day.

29, 30. The ſame N.W. wind continued, and the ſeas were very conſiderable.

December 1. This day fell ſome rain. About evening ſprang up the Levant wind, and there fell very great ſeas upon the Mole, from the conſequence of a S.W. wind that had blown freſh in the main ocean.

2. The ſeas and wind continued more fierce.

3. The night was extraordinary raging from the S.W. ſeas. The Levant continued in the day, and the ſeas were ſtill great. Being Sunday, all paſſed as uſually.

4. The Levant was ſtill the ſame, and the ſtorms conſiderable, yet ſo well abated, that the men could work at the end of the Mole.

5. Was clear, notwithſtanding the Levant, which was moderate, as alſo the ſeas. Our progreſs continued at the end, backing the piles; the ſame it is like to be moſt of this winter.

6. Was calm and fair, the Levant continuing with gentleneſs and moderation.

7. In the night fell upon the Mole a very great ſea from the S.W. which paſſed without any damage; but in the day the ſeas abated, and the Levant was more fierce than the preceding days.

8. The night brought again a conſiderable ſea from the S.W.; but the day was fair, and the gentle Levant continued.

9. The weather was exceeding fair and calm, the wind at N. We entertained my Lady Middleton at Whitby, in the new fort, which we called Fort Middleton.

10. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually.

11. Was reaſonably fair.

12. Was a very great ſea at the Mole from the S.W. coming with a calm, and abated at night.

13. The ſea was leſs. The wind changed to S. and in the afternoon to N.W. and there fell ſome ſhowers of rain.

14, 15, 16. Paſſed without much wind; at times ſome gentle ſhowers falling, and the wind very little and various.

17. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, the day cloudy and louring; towards night ſome rain fell.

18. The preceding night and the day was very rainy; but the ſhowers did not fall with violence, nor were the ſeas at all grown; the wind little at S. and S.W.

19. Was alſo rainy in ſmall ſhowers. This day we got the great tarrace-wall I made next the ſea joined with the cheſt; the wind S.

20, 21. I took my uſual phyſic. In theſe two days there fell much rain, but in no violent ſhowers; nor did there fall any great ſeas on the Mole; the wind various, commonly at S. and S.W.

22. In the night preceding the wind changed, and blew extremely at Eaſt. Much rain fell, and the ſame wind and weather did continue all the day. This brought in a great Levant ſea; but of no worſe conſequence than ſhaking two or three broken pillars to the Weſtward, and breaking and looſening four or five ſmall piles of pine, which had ſtood near twenty months, and were much damaged by the worm. This was a very weighty ſea from the S.W. and driven in by the Levant;

23. In the night it blew from the Eaſt a perfect rage, which happening upon a great S.W. ſea with much rain, brought a heavy

heavy ſea upon the end of the Mole, and took away the two courſes of the Eaſternmoſt pillar that had been ſo much broken formerly, and alſo two courſes of the pillar next to it, which was alſo cracked. To the Weſtward two of the ſhaken pillars were caſt down for two courſes, all the whole broadſide of the old pillars, and the inward wall made with tarrace had no damage at all; and indeed all the damage of the ſtorm was repairable for ten pounds; but I obſerved the cracks of the pillars to be in the tarrace, and not the ſtones, and therefore that it was neceſſary to make at leaſt the end pillars with iron bars, which we could not do for want of iron this year; and I think it may be good to place the laſt pillar every year in ſome old hulk, that the foundation may be ſure to be under water. The wind was ſomething abated in the day, and alſo the ſeas.

24. The night was exceeding raging, the ſame great S.W. ſeas driven in by raging S.E. wind, ſo that in the morning we had a noiſe in the market-place of much damage, which, upon examination, was nothing more than what happened the day before to the two end pillars; and this was much the ſame the preceding winter, and gives a demonſtration that the end pillar bears all the ſtreſs, and being made good will certainly ſecure the reſt. This was Sunday, and paſſed as uſually.

25. Being Chriſtmas-day, was fair, and we ſpent it in the uſual devotions; juſt before ſermon, Mr. Luke arriving with the news of the peace which Sir Edward Spragge made with thoſe of Algiers on the 29th of the laſt month.

26. We kept holiday, and we entertained the workmen, and their wives at Whitby, and the great Mole with the officers, to the number of about 500, allowing each one pound and a

half of fleſh, and a quart of wine. The day continued fair, the wind at South.

27. We began again to work; but the night preceding this day was rainy, and the workmen had not recovered the jollity of the preceding, ſo that little was done; the wind at South. A ſeaman ſhot by accident from our brigantines by a drunken ſoldier the 26th.

28. We ſet hard to work all hands, and drove ſeveral piles, and did well ribband the work from pile to pile, over the end and ſides; the rains ſtill continuing, the wind Southerly.

29, 30. Was very fair, and we made a good progreſs in filling before the pillars between the piles, on the ſide and end; and theſe two days, eſpecially the 29th, was exceeding calm and fair, and the wind at Weſt.

31. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually; ſome ſmall rain falling towards night, and the wind S.W.

1672, Jan. 1. Being New-year's day, I dined with the officers upon the Mole; it blew hard at South; after dinner rained violently, which continued all night.

2. Was ſtill very rainy, which brought a conſiderable ſea upon the ſide of the Mole.

3. The night preceding it blew very hard, and brought a great ſea upon the Mole without any damage; the day was fair, and we were getting ſtone between the piles without the pillars; ſome ſhowers fell at times, but the ſeas abated, and the wind was leſs.

4. The night was very rainy, and the day in ſhowers, yet without wind or very great ſeas; the wind S.W. Our progreſs in fortifying the end of the Mole.

5, 6. Was reaſonably fair, and our progreſs as the preceding day.

day. On the 6th William Wade came from Cadiz with the money.

7. Being Sunday, paſſed as uſually, being very fair.

8, 9. Was as fair as I ever remember to have ſeen it.

10. The ſeas were calm, but it rained all day in gentle ſhowers; the wind various at W. and N.W. in the morning, and toward evening it blew a freſh Levant. We were ſtill ſtrengthening the end of the Mole.

11. It rained gently all night, and blew freſh at Eaſt in the morning; but the wind ſuddenly abated, and there fell an extraordinary great ſea, with a calm and feathered, the firſt of the kind that happened this winter.

12. The great ſea was abated, but it rained all day in ſmall ſhowers; after the day was gone, it rained and thundered in ſome violence; the wind was moſt of the day at Eaſt, and towards night at South.

13. Was alſo rainy the preceding night and the day.

14. There fell much rain in the night, and a very great ſea upon the Mole, without prejudice; the wind was various, and at South and Eaſt. The day being Sunday, paſſed as uſually.

15. The ſea was abated; the wind Eaſterly; the weather cloudy.

16. In the night, and all the day, continued an exceeding S.W. ſea, forced in by a raging Levant, without other prejudice than forcing out about half a dozen ſtones from under the pillars laſt made toward the end.

17. The great ſea continued all night, without doing prejudice, excepting to the pillar firſt made this winter, broke part of the top tarrace, and a corner ſtone, occaſioned from the pillars.

lars being made over high, which made me order them otherwiſe for the future.

18, 19, 20. The ſeas continued very raging; the 20th at night blew exceedingly hard at S.E. the pillar cracked fell down, to my great ſatisfaction; making it evident, that the fall was no leſs a protection, for it became a more effectual barricado, and defended the body of the Mole by a heap of ſtone gradually raiſed, and this becauſe the foundation had been before well ſettled. There fell theſe days much rain; and at the height of the ſpring, in the afternoon of the 20th for about an hour, the ſeas ran ſo exceſſively high, as all in the town declared they had not ſeen the like. This day came into the road, for ſuccour, an Algerine ſatia; but they could not get back to the ſatia, ſo the maſter and boat's crew went aboard the Francis, the ſatia riding farther out in a place of danger.

20, 21, 22. In the night it blew and rained exceeding much; the Clermont was ſunk in the little harbour; the day was alſo exceeding tempeſtuous with wind and rain, and all the ſtorms of this year came from an uſual quarter, the wind being at S.E. The day being Sunday, &c.

22, 23, 24, 25. The weather was various, the wind generally at S.W. in the Bay, but Eaſt in the Gut, and great tempeſts without, but the ſeas were ſomething abated.

25. Sir Edward Spragge arrived the night preceding, and landed this day, and dined with my Lord.

26. Sir Edward and the company dined at my houſe.

27. We dined at the Caſtle; my wife found herſelf ill, and feared to miſcarry.

28. Being Sunday; was rainy in the night and in the day; the company dining at my houſe; my wife keeping her chamber without pain, but ſtill ill in the ſame way.

29. My

29. My wife ſlept well, but continued juſt in the ſame manner; which made me fear ſhe might not be with child, having once deceived us at Madrid.

30. The night and day was exceeding tempeſtuous with violent rains, and wind at S.W. Sir Edward Spragge accompanied my Lord to church, and after we dined at the Caſtle; my wife was better. Sir Edward went at night on board. There happened an ill accident; the ſeamen were made merry with the brandy on ſhore; crowding into the boats upon the ſudden departure, about 50 of them into a long-boat laden with water, they were all drowned, excepting about nine; among theſe one Mr. Bury, and ſome gentlemen paſſengers.

31. Was alſo very rainy and tempeſtuous, the wind N.W. Sir Edward Spragge ſailed in the morning with a bare wind. There arrived a ſhip with proviſions from Ireland, and Captain Beverley from England.

February 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Theſe ſix days were continually rainy and tempeſtuous, the wind at S.W. which hindered my embarking on the third. The Mole was meaſured, and found to be advanced 43½ yards ſince the laſt ſurvey, taken in July 1670.

7, 8. Was fair, yet ſo as there fell ſome rain; the wind N.W.

9. The wind changed, ſo that we were adviſed in the night was a fair land breeze. I embarked aboard the Mary, Captain Heylen.

10. Being Saturday, about one in the night we weighed, and got in the morning oppoſite to Cape Spartel; in the afternoon we had a fair Levant wind; about four, made Sir Edward Spragge's ſhip, that was coming from Gibraltar; he bore up to us, and came aboard our ſhip.

11. We

11. We got into the Bay of Cadiz, and my wife, neice, and ſelf, went aſhore to Sir Martin Weſtcombe the Conſul's houſe. He being upon his return from England, we were kindly entertained by his Lady.

12, 13, 14, 15. We continued at Cadiz, coming in the evening on board Sir Edward Spragge's ſhip the Rupert, where I we had noble entertainment and accommodation.

16. We ſailed with a gentle gale from Cadiz.

18. We were about the cloſe of the evening oppoſite to Cape St. Vincent; within a few leagues appeared five Algerines; they bore up until they made what we were, then ſprang their luf; farther were two others, which we ſuppoſed part of the ſame fleet of Turks.

19. We got within fifteen leagues of the rock of Lix, a great Genoa ſhip being come in the night to our company, three Turks appearing between us and the ſhore, ſtanding the ſame courſe, which was for the rock.

20. In the afternoon we found we were about five leagues from the rock; the wind fair, as it had been uſually in the mornings; and calm towards evening and in the night.

21, 22, 23. The wind carried us ſomething Weſterly, about ſixty leagues from land.

24. The wind was fair about eight at night, in the latitude of 43; being upon deck, I ſaw that which is commonly called a falling ſtar, ſtrangely big and clear, I exceeding in both theſe reſpects any that I had ſeen upon ſhore made at feſtivals, and continued longer, that is to ſay, for about the ſpace of two minutes: it went from the N.E. to the N.W. and had its courſe againſt the wind.

25. Being Sunday, the wind continued fair.

26. The

26. The wind came againſt us to the N.E. it made cold and clear weather, and we were in the lat. 45 11.

27, 28, 29. Theſe days we had an indifferent wind, yet ſo as we were carried to the Weſt.

March 1, 2. The wind was ſo that we were driven towards Ireland.

3. Being not able to make good more than a North-and-by-Eaſt courſe, we were afraid we ſhould not reach any part of Ireland. About noon we ſpied land right-a-head, which we came fair up with about four in the afternoon: it proved the Shelling, a rock that lies in the ſea; the wind being at Eaſt, directly againſt us, and likely to continue, being very cold, fair, and clear, the fleet in ſome want of water and other refreſhments, we ſtood for the Ventry, a Bay in Duglebay.

4. We got into the Ventry, and went on ſhore to one Mr. Mullin's, that had a houſe within half a mile towards Dingle: we were very kindly received, and entertained with a collation, which was to us a good refreſhment.

5. Sir Edward Spragge entertained Mr. Mullins, his wife, and daughter, on board.

6. The wind came fair. Having preſented Mr. Mullins with fruit, oranges, and lemons, and having again received ale and other proviſions to requite the curteſy, our Admiral weighed in the afternoon; ſuddenly roſe a great freſh of weather, from a ſtorm of ſnow, hail, &c. ſo that the reſt of the fleet could not weigh anchor; we lay-by all night.

7. In the morning all the fleet came to us, excepting the Newcaſtle, commanded by Captain Langſtone; we had the wind very fair, ſailed cloſe by the Bull and Cow, and made Cape Clear in the evening.

8. About noon we came close by the wragged Isles of Scilly, and made the Land's end about three in the afternoon: entering the channel we met the wind changing, and coming in several stormy gusts of hail and snow; we got up to the Lizard by ten at night, and then lay becalmed.

9. The calm continued until about nine in the morning, when we had something of a gale, which, by the help of the tide, made us advance a little; in the evening met two Galliot Hoys, which we chased, but they avoided speaking with us.

10. We met with the Nightingale off of Portland, who was sent from Sir Robert Holmes, to give notice of the orders he had to secure all Dutch and Hamburghers; in the evening we spied Sir Robert Holmes's fleet off the isle of Wight; he was to windward of us about three leagues; we were close upon a wind to speak him; he bore up to us until he made the Flag, and then did luff off. Sir Edward afterward stood his course two points larger.

11. About noon we passed Dover, when Sir Edward Spragge sent an express to London; we landed in the evening at Deal, and lodged in a very good house.

12. We reached the post-house at Canterbury.

13. Got to Rochester.

14. I went to my uncle, Judge Twysden.

15. We dined at Peckham, where I saw my old uncle Sir Roger Twysden under much weakness.

16. We passed to London, being met at Eltham by my brother and sister Nicholas, who carried us to their house in the Old Little Spring Garden.

17. I kissed the King's hands and Duke, and gave them a plat of the Mole, greatly to their satisfaction.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Theſe days I ſpent in neceſſary viſits and ſolicitations.

26. I came to my own houſe in the Pall Mall.

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May 13, 1672. A letter to my Lord Middleton.

27. I began my journey towards Yorkſhire; this being the day of engagement between our fleet in conjunction with a French ſquadron and the Dutch fleet.

28. I came to Eton, being the firſt time I had ſeen my Lady Gray ſince the death of her huſband.

30. I dined at Kimbolton, and went that night to Hamerton, where I received letters that my wife was delivered of a girl, ten weeks before her time, chriſtened Anne; this misfortune happening the ſame day with the fight. I immediately ſet forwards to Whitby, where I arrived,

June 2. Sunday, found my wife reaſonably well, the child dead; the loſs of this babe was a great affliction to us both, and, I hope, a ſeaſonable judgment to myſelf, who deſerved a much ſeverer judgment at the hands of my juſt Judge.

Moſt of this ſummer I ſpent at Whitby, in finiſhing my new buildings, in phyſick, by direction of the worthy Dr. Rugeley, who came to ſee me from Scarbrough. I had alſo the fortune to entertain the eminent Biſhop of Cheſter, Dr. Wilkins.

Auguſt 19. I went towards Scotland, to viſit their Graces the Duke and Ducheſs of Lauderdale; that day I dined at Giſbury with Mr. Edward Challonor, ſince knighted; and lay at Sir David Fouley's, at Ingolſby.

20. To Durham.

21. To Newcaſtle.

22. To Anwick.

23. To Barwick.

24. To Hadington.

25. Being Sunday I reſted, went to church, and ſaw the tombs belonging to the Maitland family, of which the Duke of Lauderdale is chief, having a fair ſeat, called Lidington, a mile diſtant.

26. I went to Edinburgh, where I was entertained by my Lord Duke Lauderdale, and lodged in Holyrood Houſe, his Lordſhip being then the King's Commiſſioner.

30. I went with Sir John Cockeram, who had married my couſin-german, to Hambelton, a noble ſeat belonging to the Duke of that name.

31. I came to Ocletree, my couſin Sir John Cockeram's houſe, where I ſtayed.

September 2. I went to Ayre, took a view of the Engliſh citadel, was made free of the place, and returned that night to Ocletree.

3. I went with Sir John Cockeram to Paiſley, anciently the ſeats of the Earls of Abercorn, of the Hambleton family, now poſſeſſed by the wiſe Earl of Dondonnel, father to Sir John Cockeram,

4. We were nobly entertained at Glaſgow, and I was made free of the city. That night we reached Sterling.

I paſſed by Kunas, a houſe belonging to the Earl of Kingcarn, as alſo Clacmannel, the ancient ſeat of the Bruces; and that night we lay at Donfarlin, the birth-place of King Charles the Firſt.

6. We

6. We ſaw laſtly an excellent new houſe, built by Earl Rothes, then Chancellor, and came that day to Burnt Iſland, and at night to Edinburgh, where I paſſed my time about ten days, and went with the Duke of Lauderdale to a houſe of his called within half a mile of Haddington; here we ſtayed about a week, ſeeing another houſe of my Lord's, called Lauder,

October 2. To Duns. 3. To Belford. 4. To Anwick. The 5th to Morpeth. 6. To Newcaſtle, reſting there on Sunday, where my wife came to meet me. 8. Went to Durham, thence to Yarmouth, thence to Giſburgh; and the

10. Being Wedneſday, to Whitby, where I entertained my Lord Duke, his Ducheſs, the Earls of Athold and Kingorn, with ſome other of the Scotch gentry, the reſt of the week.

15. We parted all from Whitby, and got that night to Malton.

16. To York, where we reſted; the 17th and 18th went to Pontefract; the 19th, to Bautry; 20th, to Newark; 21ſt, to Standford; 22d, to Huntingdon, where Sir Francis Compton's troop drawed out to meet the Duke.

19. My wife went to Hammerton, but I and my little girl went that night to the Duke to Biggleſwade. The 20th, to Hatfield.

21. To London.

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1673.

1673, Auguſt 6. Being Wedneſday, I and my wife did accompany my Lord and Lady Mancheſter to my Lord Falconberg's; in the way, at Pickering, I received an expreſs of my Lord Middleton's being dead at Tangier.

7. To Knaſbrough.

8. We paſſed by Sir Joſeph Goodrich's fine houſe to York.

9. Being Sunday, paſſed in ſaluting friends, and being entertained by the High Sheriff Sir Thomas Yarbrough.

10. I parted with my Lord and Lady Mancheſter, and dined at Temple-Newſam, thence to Doncaſter.

11. To Nottingham; the 12th, to Stamford; 13th, to Hamerton; 14th, to Stephenage; 15th, to London.

17. I went early to Windſor, where, in the firſt place, I viſited my Lord Lauderdale, and gave him ſome propoſitions about Tangier, greatly to the King's advantage; offering, if I might be Governor, in three years to make there a good harbour, and to reduce the expence of that place to 20,000l. the year. This put a ſtop to ſome fair advances which had been made in favour of Sir Robert Holmes, and generally it was ſaid I ſhould be choſe Governor for Tangier.

18. The King gave me many a good word, how ſenſible he was of my ſervices; and commanded me to go to London and aſſiſt my Lord Keeper in putting all the affairs of Tangier into a good model; which accordingly I did, and ſtayed there adjuſting the buſineſs of my accounts. The great competitors for Tangier being my Lord Windſor by the Duke's favour, Sir Robert Holmes, and the Earl of Inchequeen. There were many others, but theſe were the greateſt; and ſometimes one was ſpoke of, then another. For a good while Sir Robert Holmes: then it held two months together chiefly for myſelf, inſomuch as I was offered great wagers, with twenty to one odds; and certain

certain it is that no importunity could prevail againſt me for a long time; and this did not happen, I think, out of much regard the King had to my ſervices at Tangier: but being himſelf inclined moſt to Holmes which the Duke violently oppoſed, and ſet againſt Windſor whom the Duke did ſeek to prefer, the King fell upon me by a kind of chance, and at this time Inchequeen was in great deſperation; but preſſing the thing very cloſely ſeveral ways, he found means to engage the Duke of Portſmouth, the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Treaſurer, who, although my countryman, was not much known to myſelf, yet we always lived civilly and fair together. My Lady Portſmouth was ſo paſſionate, as more than once to preſs the King upon her knees: but yet there contributed another intereſt; the Duke fell from me, being prevailed upon by Colonel Talbot in favour of my Lord Inchequeen, he could not be brought to decline my Lord Windſor, but was ſo far as to give over preſſing the King for him; but from being in the ſecond place for me, as he promiſed, he changed ſo far as to be for me in no place at all; pretending that he was ſatisfied it was not convenient the government of Tangier and the conduct of the Mole ſhould be in the ſame hand; and it was in the nature of his Royal Highneſs to be very ſteady in whatever he did once declare, and none knew better how to fix him than Colonel Talbot; ſo that all on a ſudden it was noiſed that my Lord Inchequeen, who had taken his leave of the King to go for Greenland in the morning, had notice given him in the evening to ſtop; and at night, which was the 24th of December, he was ſeen to diſcourſe very privately with the King; but, offering to kiſs the King's hand, his Majeſty drew back. This cauſed a great noiſe on the morrow, that my Lord Inchequeen would be Governor, and that the matter would be

declared

declared the Sunday following at the cabinet; which made me, on Saturday the 26th of December, preſs his Royal Highneſs to let his Majeſty know that I humbly deſired, whoſoever was Governor, might alſo be Surveyor of the Mole, and that otherwiſe I might have leave to withdraw myſelf, which I did with much modeſty, but with ſome concernment. His Royal Highneſs immediately went to the King, and diſcourſed the thing with him; after which I came into the Drawing-room, and his Majeſty turned his diſcourſe to me. The next day at Council the King would name no Governor; and it began to be thought I had turned affairs, and might be choſen. At laſt I framed a paper (December 28), which I got the Earl of Mancheſter to ſhew the King; the ſcope of which was, to preſs him to put the conduct of the Mole into the hand of whatever man was made Governor, as a certain means to expedite the work in one-third of the time which otherwiſe would be employed about it. This paper the King read twice over, and was nothing diſpleaſed with it; but ſaid, he would conſider of it, and that it ſeemed to him, the thing being in the hands of the Governor, it might go on with better ſpeed; and further ſaid, he would ſpeak to me.

30. At night I deſired leave to ſpeak with his Majeſty, who called me to the other ſide of his bed; and there I humbly deſired his Majeſty to hear me with favour and freedom, as deſigning nothing but what concerned his own ſervice and intereſts. Sir, I hear ſome perſons go about to perſuade your Majeſty, that it is for your ſervice to keep the Mole and Government of Tangier in diſtinct hands. I come to ſhew the contrary, by ſetting down many conveniences will be found to your work, by keeping them joined, inconveniences avoided, and to anſwer all objections that may be made againſt keeping

theſe

theſe employments in the Governor's hand. Firſt, I humbly pray your Majeſty to call to mind, when I and Sir John Lawſon did undertake this work in the beginning; it was then thought neceſſary, by yourſelf and Council, that the Earl of Tiviot, the Governor, ſhould be a contractor, becauſe it was then thought a work that could not be then done without the ſoldiers, would never have the ſpirit which was neceſſary if the Governor had no ſhare either in the honour or the profit; and if this was wiſdom in the beginning, when the work was in ſhallow water, with how much more reaſon now it is in deep water, and will move very ſlowly if it want all encouragement may be given! and if this was thought reaſonable when the work was under contract, how much more now the work is under a regulated office, and every contrivance goes to your Majeſty's ſole profit! Now, in a conjunction of theſe places, the Governor will be at liberty to make great contrivances, and to remove all obſtructions, the very ſolicitation of which hath been hitherto found of ſufficient inconvenience! Beſides, at preſent your Majeſty pays thirteen pence for every ſoldier working at the Mole; and the Governor gets the ſame men to work at the fortifications for eight pence and nine pence, and in this there may be a third part ſaved in the wages. Then, there being continually a frigate at the command of the Governor; by buying a veſſel of two hundred tons at an eaſy charge, ſeamen might be taken from the frigate, and that ſupplied by ſoldiers; and then this veſſel, ſent under the convoy of the frigate, might bring all ſort of ſtores at a very great profit from what was at preſent expended. For the objection, that it was fitting the Governor and Mole ſhould be mutual cheques, I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, the Mole is already under the cheque of ſeveral officers, ſworn and named by your Majeſty; but if this

be yet thought neceſſary, by joining the penſion allotted to the Surveyor General of the Mole with that of the Governor, there will be a latitude to allow a handſome ſalary to ſome third perſon, who may neither depend upon the Mole or Garriſon, but merely conſtituted by your Majeſty as a cheque upon all; who may, by the duty of his place, be obliged to receive monthly accounts of every thing, and tranſmit them to your Majeſty's Commiſſioners; and this will be ſuch a cheque as will anſwer all the concerns of the place, without being in the leaſt a cheque to the power that is neceſſary for your Majeſty's ſervice.

Sir, It is poſſible ſome one in my condition would move your Majeſty to grant this Government, upon the account of ſome ſervices I may have done in that place: but I ſay quite the contrary; no paſt ſervices ought to be laid in the ſcale of a public common work. In my humble opinion, your Majeſty ought only to look forwards; and, Sir, you have the whole world to chooſe a fit man; I am moſt ready to encourage him with the reſignment of my own ſalary: but, I pray you, conſider your honour and your intereſts are at ſtake. And as, on the one hand, I think I could aſſure your Majeſty, notwithſtanding you are pleaſed to have the Mole carried on the full length of five hundred yards, yet, if I was Governor, I could make a ſufficient Mole for the ſhips to ride in four fathom at low water in five years time; ſo, if you pleaſe to have it proceeded on in this ſlow way, though I doubt not it will be done, yet I verily believe not in a third part more expence of money and time. Thus, Sir, having diſcharged my conſcience, and ſhewn your Majeſty that I ſeek not the Government of Tangier for any other end than your ſervice, by offering your Majeſty to diſ-

poſe

poſe of the Governor's pay to whom you pleaſe; I humbly ſubmit all to your Royal conſideration.

To this diſcourſe of mine, which his Majeſty did hear with much patience, he only ſaid, "He would conſider of it; that he muſt needs acknowledge I ſeemed only to ſeek his ſervice, and not my own profit; and thanked me for having dealt ſo freely with him."

I made known what I had ſaid to the King in all places, and eſpecially on the morrow to Monſ. Rovigny, who came to me to enquire about it. He ſaid, "I had done like a man of honour; and that he would eſteem me more whilſt he lived." The next day I got my lord Bellaſys to viſit Monſ. Rovigny, and to hint to him that the noiſe about making an Iriſh Lord Governor was great, and reflected much upon the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, and that it might be for her ſervice to receive ſome advice in the point. Monſ. Rovigny ſaid, he did believe what my Lord Bellaſys ſaid was true, but that my Lady muſt look to defend herſelf as well as ſhe could; and, upon further diſcourſe, added, *Vous verrez que le Roy faira le pis choix que ſe peut trouver*, or to that purpoſe, as my Lord ſaid to me. However, the next night the Ducheſs of Portſmouth came to viſit my wife, who had never been to ſee her but once, and that a month before, with my Lady Lauderdale.

1674, Jan. 2. This day I put my *ſul.* and ſalt in digeſtion.

3. In the evening, being Sunday, the King declared my Lord Inchequeen Governor; that day I dined with my Lord Treaſurer, and gave him an account of all that I had ſaid to the King. He anſwered, "I had done very well to ſpeak ſo plainly, for now his Majeſty had all before him."

5. I followed the King into the chamber next his old bedchamber. I told his Majeſty, "I underſtood he had named my

Lord Inchequeen Governor of Tangier, with which I was abundantly ſatisfied; but hoped that, upon the reaſons I had given him, he would think fit he ſhould have alſo the Mole, which I was willing to reſign for his better encouragement." His Majeſty ſaid, "He wiſhed my Lord Inchequeen well; but that thoſe two employments muſt not be in one hand, for then there would be no cheque." I then humbly deſired he would ſet me a day when I might deliver up the charge I found inconvenient to hold. He ſaid, "Make your propoſitions; I am now in haſte to ſpeak with my Lord Arlington:" who came that day with my Lord Oſray from Holland, and was waiting to ſpeak with the King.

AN

AN ACCOUNT RELATING TO THE WORK OF THE MOLE AT TANGIER, FROM THE BEGINNING UNTO THE FIRST OF AUGUST, 1670.

HIS Majeſty, being poſſeſſed of the city of Tangier in the beginning of the year 1662, did, about the end of the ſaid year, deſign the building a Mole there; and, in order thereto, there being a conſultation of the perſons that were judged beſt capacitated for ſuch a ſervice, the manner of building with cheſts was debated, as at Genoa, in the preſence of an engineer ſent from thence; and alſo the building with great ſtones and dry-work, after the practice of England and all the Northern world: and the difficulty of all ſorts of materials being conſidered for the neceſſary building with cheſt-work, becauſe of the remote ſituation of Tangier, his Majeſty was pleaſed to contract for the building a Mole without cheſts, with the Earl of Tiviot, Governor of the place; Sir John Lawſon, a perſon greatly verſed in ſea affairs, and perfectly knowing in the ſituation of Tangier; and with Mr. Cholmley, a gentleman that had ſome inſight into the practice of the Engliſh way of building, becauſe of one made under his ſurvey.

Among other things contracted on his Majeſty's part, it was agreed, that the contractors ſhould be protected and ſecured in getting ſtone neceſſary in any place within three miles diſtance from Tangier.

Mr.

Mr. Cholmley had been principally uſed, in the work that he had ſeen, to bring ſtone with land-carriages, and therefore propoſed the ſame to Sir John Lawſon: but he alledging the difficulty of practiſing this at Tangier, and the facility of bringing daily the ſame quantity of ſtones at a far leſs charge by ſea; in order thereunto, there were two veſſels prepared with cranes, ſomewhat like the Puntoney engines uſed at Genoa, the difference of contrivance being made in reſpect of the difference of the ſeas, and the nature of the places.

Theſe veſſels, being framed in England, were tranſported to Tangier in the month of July, 1663, the Earl of Tiviot being gone thither a little before; and Sir John Lawſon alſo commanding the fleet in which Mr. Cholmley embarked himſelf.

Upon this fleet's arrival at Tangier, all care was had to get the ſtores for this ſervice on ſhore, which took up a great deal of time, becauſe of the inconveniency there was at that time to land goods; and ſomewhat more was taken in building of a ſmith's ſhop and ſtorehouſes, and preparing neceſſary places to lay the preſent ſtores in: this being over, the carpenters preſently ſet to work, to prepare one of the engines to weigh ſtones; but this moving ſo ſlowly that there was no proſpect of having it ſet together in leſs than four or five months, the Earl of Tiviot being engaged in the fortifying the place, and Sir John Lawſon gone further into the Streights, the care of the buſineſs reſted upon Mr. Cholmley, who, being unwilling to lie idle till the engines were built, bought ſix boats brought over by the earl of Tiviot, and in the end of Auguſt in the ſame year began to lay the firſt foundation of the Mole, the ſame being firſt ſet out by Mr. Jonas Moor ſent over by the King for that purpoſe, by Sir Roger Cuttaner, one of the Commiſſioners

for

for Tangier, and by Mr. Ewens one of the Trinity Houſe in London, and by them choſen for this ſervice; who had alſo the advice of Sir John Lawſon, Sir Robert Holmes, Captain Clark, and the reſt of the Captains in the fleet at that time riding in Tangier Road.

The Mole was thus begun a little before the ſaid Earl went into England, and paſſed all that ſummer with ſo good ſpeed, Mr. Cholmly, by his own example, encouraging the men to work in the water, that, at the Earl's return, in the end of December, there was a ſquare piece of thirteen yards brought to its full height, and the foundation of the Mole carried out near a hundred yards, to the general ſatisfaction of all perſons: and in this good condition and way of proceeding Mr. Cholmley left the work, being called into England by the death of his brother, and neceſſity of affairs of the infant ſon, ordering firſt ſome quarters for men, and greater ſtores, to be built at a place called Whitby, which adjoins unto the quarries, and went himſelf for England in the month of January following; being glad that, upon his obſervations at Tangier, he might confirm that which he had before found to be true in other parts, to wit, that the ſea did not then impair ſtones where they lie unagitated, but, rather, on the contrary, preſerve and harden them, by a moſſy coat that gathers thereon.

Soon after Mr. Cholmley's arrival into England, he received letters from his agents at Tangier, complaining of the ſmall progreſs of work ſince his abſence, becauſe of the uncertain ſeas and winds, that did often, for many days together, hinder the working of the boats, and for that the ſaid boats were often uſed in fair weather to unload ſhips for the uſe of the garriſon. Soon after followed the loſs of the Earl of Tiviot; and Mr. Cholmley had account from Captain Hewett, the chief

perſon

perſon by him then intruſted, that little work could be expected that ſummer, becauſe of the conſternation which that misfortune had caſt upon the minds of men, and becauſe the work was ſo far from having any aſſiſtance from the ſoldiers of the garriſon, that the men of the Mole were taken from their work, for the neceſſary defence of the place; and further, Mr. Hewett deſired to be diſengaged from the ſervice, becauſe of the ſickneſs which he had contracted from the labour of the attendance, which his body could no longer undergo.

Upon this Mr. Cholmley, reſolving himſelf to return for Tangier, made what ſearch he could for an officer proper to ſupply Capt. Hewett's place; and knowing the work was rather of toil and labour, than of difficulty, he deſired chiefly a perſon of ſober underſtanding, that had been uſed to ſurvey buildings and quarries, and had, in the end, recommended unto him, under this character, Major Samuel Taylor, with whom he came to Tangier in the end of January, 1664, and then found little work done from the time of his abſence; the boats, though built on purpoſe for ſailing, being often not able to work one day in twenty, and the engines, for the ſame cauſe, viz. the uncertainty of the ſeas, after a great expence, upon their firſt framing in England, and a tedious putting together at Tangier, in the end proved of little or no uſe, and the work under a general diſreputation from this, and looked upon as impoſſible to be built.

Mr. Cholmley, finding Major Taylor every way ſuited for the employment as he did deſire, immediately upon his landing obſerved, that it was impoſſible to build a Mole here, unleſs, after the practice of other parts, ſtones might be brought in all weathers by land-carriages, when the tide was out; and did very privately, with Major Taylor, take a view how this might

might be practically done at Tangier; and finding the thing not difficult in itself, but from the received opinion in prejudice to it, which made the charge in thus building the Mole treble as much, and a way to bring ſtones by land a work little leſs than making the Mole itſelf. To give the better reputation to this beginning, Mr. Cholmley immediately buying what horſes he could in the garriſon, and committing to Major Taylor, who was greatly verſed in making carriages, to frame them in the boat-way, immediately fell in hand by this means to build the little Mole at Whitby; this being generally concluded neceſſary, for the ſafeguard of the boats, and the more commodious loading with ſtone. The progreſs of work made by theſe carts in a little time let the world ſee the conveniency of them, if they could be practiſed upon the great Mole. Afterwards Mr. Cholmley did what he could to ſhew that there would not be much time nor coſt expended in making ſuch a way to carry ſtone by land to the great Mole, becauſe there needed only the ſame to be made a little about the foot of York Caſtle; but the doing of this, though it was upon plain reaſon demonſtrable a great preſervation from that Caſtle's being undermined by the ſea, yet was oppoſed by many perſons of great power in the place, as if the doing of this would be a certain means to bring down York Caſtle itſelf; but this was in the end obtained by the expreſs command and favour of the Lord Bellaſis, at that time Governor of the place. Mr. Cholmley immediately wrote to England for a great ſupply of horſes, projected with Major Taylor the making of ſtables, and the preſent buildings at Whitby, as they are now erected; and having ſeen the effect of one great mine for the blowing up large quantities of ſtone, hearing in the end of ſummer that bills drawn by the Lord Bellaſis had been pro-

teſted at London, and knowing that thoſe he had drawn for the ſupply of the work would probably run the like diſhonour, becauſe of the wars, the height of the plague, and his abſence, and that upon the news of this he ſhould be confined to Tangier, without credit to ſupply the work, which would from thence receive a public diſreputation, reflecting upon his conduct of affairs; Mr. Cholmley having received alſo about the ſame time the news of his nephew's death, which neceſſitated his return, almoſt as much as the conſideration of his fortune came to; reſolved upon his journey for England, and to rely for the management of the employment chiefly upon Major Taylor, of whoſe integrity, and other neceſſary qualifications, he was, from his own experience, daily more confirmed; but, unwilling to truſt any man more than neceſſity or prudence obliged him to, Sir Hugh ordered the buſineſs of money in this way, that all bills of exchange ſhould be ſigned by Colonel Moleſworth and Major Taylor, the two head officers, and both gentlemen of unſuſpected integrity; that all money thus taken upon bills ſhould immediately be put into an iron cheſt, unto which there were three locks and keys, one of theſe to be kept by Colonel Moleſworth, another by the ſaid Major, and another by Mr. Balam, a gentleman of whoſe honeſty Sir Hugh had full knowledge from a very long acquaintance: and this being by him thought a ſufficient means to ſecure all monies from being employed in any other ſervice than that for which it was intended, the method for iſſuing the ſame was thus directed; a Muſter-maſter being daily appointed for the cognizance of the men that wrought, and a ſtore-keeper for the daily iſſues of the ſtores, who kept methodical accounts of the ſame. Sir Hugh ordered the pay-bills to be monthly made by a clerk of accounts, who was conſtituted for that ſervice, and kept

books and ledgers of every particular man's account; and this being afterwards peruſed and allowed by Major Taylor, he ſhould make a warrant for the payment of the ſame to Mr. Mackman, Treaſurer for the ſervice, who, from time to time, receiving out of the iron-cheſt as much money as was neceſſary, ſhould iſſue the ſame in payment, ſending into England unto Sir Hugh Cholmley ſhort abſtracts of the money that he had thus received and paid upon the Major's order, by as frequent conveyances as might be found with ſafety.

Sir Hugh, before his departure, very ſeriouſly conſulted with Major Taylor of all the concernments of this affair, and informed the Major that he muſt chiefly rely upon him in conducting all things in his abſence, becauſe that the Major had been verſed in the governing of works, and keeping of accounts, and underſtood well all parts that were moſt neceſſary for the practice of the ſame, and that other perſons, by Sir Hugh equally intruſted, had been ſo little uſed in things of this nature, that Sir Hugh could rather depend upon their worth and integrity, than upon their ſkill and knowledge. Such was the modeſty of this worthy gentleman, as with great ſadneſs to repreſent unto Sir Hugh, that though he was willing to expoſe himſelf to the utmoſt for his ſervice, yet, upon ſerious and deliberate conſideration, he found himſelf not qualified for the conduct of ſo great an affair, that he thought he ſhould do reaſonably well under my Lord Bellaſis's protection, both from the affection that he obſerved in him for the ſervice, his relation as well as kindneſs to Sir Hugh's perſon; but yet his Lordſhip talked of returning home, and ſome other perſon might have the command, who might have little kindneſs for the work, and no acquaintance with himſelf, and yet it was in the breaſt of ſuch a one abundantly to further or obſtruct the

work, by ways that could not be ſo plain and demonſtrable; and therefore the Major did himſelf propoſe unto Sir Hugh, that if he did not ſuddenly return himſelf, which the Major could not expect, he would pleaſe, with all ſpeed, to ſend to Tangier the Major's old friend Sir Henry Cholmley, who had recommended him to Sir Hugh's ſervice; and who, from the boldneſs of his temper, and commands he had had, was the perſon in the world he thought beſt ſuited to ſtruggle with all obſtructions that might happen from thoſe that had the power in the place. Sir Hugh promiſing his utmoſt endeavours to ſend his uncle to Tangier, for the Major's help and ſatisfaction, and withal taking upon bills of exchange as much money as his credit would reach to, and leaving the money in the iron cheſt, being about ten thouſand pieces of eight, as much as was ſuppoſed would anſwer the exigences of affairs until Sir Hugh could remit further credit from England; he embarked himſelf the 22d of September, and arrived at Court at Oxford the end of October following, where he found himſelf very happily departed from Tangier; becauſe a little after came letters from the Lords Commiſſioners to reſtrain his coming, which had proved his utter ruin, becauſe of the proteſt of his bills at London, to his great prejudice and diſcredit; and beſides, the public engagements at that time, the ſadneſs of the calamity, and his Majeſty's great exigences, made ſupplies come very ſlowly. However, upon Sir Hugh's perſonal appearance, and repreſentation of affairs, the Miniſters of State promiſed, that there ſhould be a ſudden and effectual remedy; but Sir Hugh finding this not ſpeedy enough to anſwer his occaſions at Tangier, where he might reaſonably furmiſe his officers would not have one farthing of ſupply, becauſe of the noiſe of the non-payment of the bills himſelf

had

had drawn; and withal conſidering that the reputation the work had got for punctual payment and compliance was the only charm to allure unto a place ſo remote, and of no good character, quarriers and other good artificers; and that without a ſupply of theſe all muſt ceaſe and determine; Sir Hugh went himſelf to London whilſt the plague continued in November; and offering all the ſecurity he could give, either perſonal or real, to ſatisfy a credit for 2000 £. to be immediately ſent for Tangier; he found all too little to obtain the ſame with ſpeed in any proportion to the occaſion: the eſtate that fell to him upon the death of his nephew lying very remote, and there being heirs at law, and other incumbrances, made it very difficult at that time for Sir Hugh to ſecure ſuddenly ſuch a ſum to the ſatisfaction of a lawyer; and the more becauſe of the diſgrace he himſelf lay under from the proteſt of bills to the value of about 6000 £. which he himſelf had drawn from Tangier. Finding his propoſals refuſed at London, he ſent expreſs about the ſame to Mr. Chriſtopher Boon, then retired into the country; who came on purpoſe to London, and immediately gave him credit for 2000 £. contenting himſelf with Sir Hugh's bond for payment of ſo much money as ſhould be taken at Tangier, by his agents, upon the ſaid credit. This got thither in ſo good time, that it came moſt ſeaſonably to ſupport the work when it was almoſt at the utmoſt extremity; and not long after, Sir Hugh obtained ſome public money to ſupply and pay his bills of Exchequer, which he did with full intereſt, to the great content of the merchants; but afterwards, inſtead of money, which ought to have been paid by contract, he was neceſſitated to accept of tallies and orders upon the Exchequer, which could never be negociated but with great loſs, and by his perſonal attendance,

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as well as private ſecurity for the money he borrowed upon them. Such was the perplexity of affairs for money as made Sir Hugh's ſolicitations at Court of abſolute neceſſity; but, that he might omit nothing neceſſary for the publick, about the beginning of March, in the ſame year, 1665, he prevailed upon his uncle, Sir Henry Cholmley, to leave a plentiful fortune and great reputation in his own country, and to embark himſelf, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, to be at the head of this great affair in Africa. Sir Henry departed for Tangier much about the time of Colonel Norwood's going thither. Sir Hugh's inſtructions to his uncle were, to carry the beſt hand he could with Colonel Norwood, principally becauſe of the influence from his power, Sir Hugh himſelf having at that time a very good intelligence with the Colonel; a little before whoſe departure for Tangier, upon ſome diſcourſe which Sir Hugh had with him, he begged the continuance of his friendſhip and aſſiſtance in his Majeſty's concernment. He told the Colonel, "That he found, from the ſoft nature of the ſtone, the bad payments, and uncertainties of the ſeas, that the bargain was not ſuch as he did at firſt expect; and that he could not tell how it would hold out with him upon the contract; but that he hoped it might be ſo well as to reward the ſervices the Colonel ſhould do, and perhaps in ſuch a proportion as three or four hundred pounds a year would amount to." And with this diſcourſe they very civilly and fairly parted, and the Colonel embarked for Tangier in a little time afterwards. He had not been many days gone, but a Lady of great honour, and near relation to Sir Hugh, told him, "She had ſo much ſervice for his perſon, that ſhe could not hear any thing reflecting upon him, without giving him notice of it; and that from an intimate friend of Colonel Norwood ſhe had heard he

had ſaid, before his departure, "That Sir Hugh had offered him three or four hundred pounds a year;" intimating, that it was not done by him without an expectation that the Colonel ſhould give a better account of the affair than in truth it did deſerve; and that they came to no concluſion in the point, becauſe Sir Hugh found he was not a man to embrace ſuch a propoſition." In anſwer of this, Sir Hugh informed the Lady the truth of the caſe, as it is before ſtated; and not concerning himſelf much for any aſperſion of this kind that might lye upon himſelf, he was really troubled at what his affairs might ſuffer, from the proſpect he could take by this account of what Colonel Norwood's influence was like to prove upon the work at Tangier: for Sir Hugh did reaſonably conjecture, that this diſcourſe came from Colonel Norwood's diſſatisfaction, either becauſe Sir Hugh's affairs were too narrow by theſe proffers to ſatisfy the Colonel's expectations, or too general for him to build any aſſurance upon them; for he conſidered that gentleman was born to little fortune but what himſelf had got, nor his condition yet ſo opulent as to refuſe ſo conſiderable a reward, which might juſtly both be offered and taken, the work being at that time under contract, and by meaſure: nor were the general characters he heard of Colonel Norwood ſuch as might make him think he did refuſe ſo juſt and ſo conſiderable a boon merely from principles of generoſity, ſo extraordinary and ſo rare for the time and age in which we live. But Sir Hugh concluding the wiſeſt courſe he could take was to temper matters all he could, and by ſeeming to know nothing make all forgot, and end in a hearty and true intelligence; he writ to his uncle, Sir Henry Cholmley, to let Colonel Norwood receive the three-pences, which were paid from the Mole as a daily reward upon each ſoldier's labour,

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over and above the pay to the ſoldier himſelf, as a thing that had been practiſed, and was at firſt conſented to by Sir Hugh, merely to keep a good intelligence with the perſon in chief power; farther, that Sir Henry ſhould be obliging to Colonel Norwood in all reaſonable courteſy. He alſo writ to Major Taylor, to work himſelf the beſt he could into the Colonel's favour, that he might the better ſerve the occaſion, if his uncle's zeal ſhould any way expoſe the affair to more inconveniencies than ſmall rewards might come to.

By the firſt letters which Sir Hugh received from his uncle in Tangier, in plain terms he writ him word, he would much deceive himſelf if he ſhould make any dependance upon Colonel Norwood's friendſhip, whom he could already perceive to purſue deſigns of getting the work into his own hands; that he had made him pay for ſome hay got upon the King's land more than he could bring much better for from England; and that, becauſe he would not let him have the Mole-boats for the unloading of his private goods as he pleaſed, the Colonel had already declared himſelf in prejudice of the Mole; and that the King was intended to be abuſed in the meaſurement, by including a ſmall key which the contractors had made at the face of the Mole, and contiguous to it, though a work of neceſſity for the ſervice, and of little expence; that it would be folly to go about to gain the Colonel by any gratuity, becauſe he would always expect double the worth of any kindneſs he ſhould do; that the Colonel's opinion in the work was not to be conſidered, becauſe he underſtood it not, ſeemed ſurprized at every little accident, and ſo unſteady as to change his opinion once in ten days; that the bargain was very ill, becauſe the ſoftneſs of the ſtone made them work to great loſs; that the work was as certain to be built as making a houſe, if

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there could be protection for getting good ſtone according to covenant, and effectual orders for the ſupply of men from the garriſon, not ſubjected to be changed at the will of their ſuperiors after they had got good experience from that work by their labours; that, after all encouragements that could be given, the bargain was ſo hard, that, if poſſible, things muſt be managed with greater thriftineſs, by reducing the pay to the men and to the officers, and by ſaving the penſion he had himſelf, who could neither ſtay for leſs, nor be allowed ſo much upon the product of the work; and therefore he did intend to return at the end of the year, and leave the conduct of the affair to Major Taylor, whom he thought as fit a man for the employment as could eaſily be met with. At the ſame time from Major Taylor Sir Hugh had an account, that he was ſorry, becauſe of the ſoft nature of the ſtone, it wrought to much loſs, that the work could not be ſupported at the rate of the contract: becauſe of this, and the uncertain payments of money, he feared whatſoever was ſaved by any reducement upon the workmen and officers, would be loſs at the end of three years labour; that he did obſerve Sir Hugh's orders as much as he could, in preſerving a good intelligence with the Colonel, and that he thought himſelf better with him than his uncle was; and though he could not anſwer for the hearty intentions of the Colonel for Sir Hugh's particular ſervice, yet he did believe things might be carried fair enough, if managed with moderation and temper.

Not long after, Sir Hugh Cholmley received letters from Colonel Norwood, wherein he writes, in effect, that his uncle Sir Henry Cholmley carried himſelf with too much zeal in the employment, and did prejudice the work by hurrying it on too faſt; that he became uneaſy to the mild temper of

Major Taylor, who was ſo weary as ready to leave the employment, but for his own kindneſs; and that, if Sir Henry could not reduce his temper to greater moderation, Major Taylor would be brought to leave the ſervice, and the King in him loſe the moſt accompliſhed perſon for every part of this affair that was to be found within the compaſs of his Majeſty's dominions; and therefore adviſed Sir Hugh to call home his uncle, that ſo his little continuance might not make the ſervice loſe a perſon that was likely to ſtay longer by it. To this letter Sir Hugh replied with great thankfulneſs for the plainneſs of his intimation, which he received very well, though in the concern of ſo near a relation; that he would ſtudy to do in the buſineſs that which might be beſt for the King's ſervice; that he had a very high opinion of Major Taylor, but did not admire him ſo much for his ſkill in the mechanicks, there being abundance in this reſpect as well qualified as himſelf, but for the wiſdom and integrity of his perſon, which were qualities rarely to be met with, and of eſſential neceſſity to Sir Hugh, at the time obliged to truſt ſo much, and at ſo remote a diſtance, becauſe of his own confinement in England, from the neceſſary negociations of raiſing money upon Exchequer-orders; however, that he did hope his Majeſty's dominions were not ſo ill-furniſhed with underſtanding men, that the buſineſs of the Mole would not be as effectually carried on for the future, notwithſtanding the death or removal of any of the preſent officers. Sir Henry Cholmley's death happened not long after his arrival at Tangier, which put an end to the diſputes between him and Colonel Norwood; and then for a long time followed a great tranquillity in affairs, and the public noiſe was nothing ſo much as in general to cry up the progreſs of the work; Colonel Norwood, in his

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letters, every where magnifying the ſame and Major Taylor, and declaring how few doubts he had left for the future perfection thereof; not a word was at that time mentioned againſt the meaſures that had been taken, or for the building with cheſt-work, or againſt the durableneſs of the preſent ſtructure, and without little objection in this kind; all things paſſed from the beginning of the work unto my Lord Sandwich's being at Tangier in Auguſt, 1668. At his Lordſhip's return, he confirmed the general opinion as to the progreſs of the work, the good hopes of its future ſucceſs, and was full with praiſes of the good method in which he found all affairs, and of the particular qualifications which he obſerved Major Taylor to have relating to the truſt Sir Hugh had repoſed in him. Sir Hugh was very faithfully ſerving Colonel Norwood in England, as may be teſtified by ſome principal perſons in affairs, when letters from Major Taylor, among other things, adviſed him, that he would do well not to rely too much upon Colonel Norwood's friendſhip, for that he had reaſon to ſuſpect the kindneſſes which he had ſhewn to his perſon and ſervices at Tangier proceeded not from any good-will to Sir Hugh, but out of ſome ſecret deſigns to get the work into his own management and care. Sir Hugh had reaſon to miſtruſt this, upon his uncle's former informations, and again upon this intimation from the Major, as alſo upon other intelligence that he had, how the Colonel was often heard to aſk, reflecting upon Sir Hugh, "how he ſhould underſtand building a Mole better than himſelf, and that the buſineſs was done by Major Taylor, and that Sir Hugh's abſence made it plain that his preſence would be but of ſmall importance to the affair." Beſides, a perſon of good repute in the place let Sir Hugh know, that he had been by accident at debate with Colonel Norwood,

where ſome councils ſeemed to be held, of getting that management of the Mole into hands of the ſoldiers, where the Colonel had let fall words to this purpoſe, "That the difficulty was only to withdraw Major Taylor from his ſervice, becauſe, if he were removed, Sir Hugh would be forced to give the work over, for want of ſkill and knowledge to carry it on;" but what confirmed the thing, were ſome letters a little after from Major Taylor himſelf, who writ to Sir Hugh, that he could not betray his ſervice ſo far, as not to let him know that the Colonel had, in effect, ſpoke to him to deſert Sir Hugh's ſervice, and to embark upon the buſineſs with himſelf, who, he ſaid, could do it with great gains, by the aſſiſtance which he might have from the garriſon: from other hands Sir Hugh was let to underſtand that the Colonel's expreſſions were often very little reſpectful to his perſon, and with ſmall kindneſs to his intereſt; for though the Colonel preſſed the neceſſity of making a break-water, he would deny any reaſon the King had to pay for the ſame, though a work contiguous, and built with the ſame materials and charge: but to thoſe who on Sir Hugh's behalf replied, that it was impoſſible then for him to build the Mole within any proportion to the rates in the contract, the Colonel's reply was, "it mattered not; he ſhould have "looked to that in making of the bargain." Some other officers gave Sir Hugh an account, that when they went to ſpeak with Colonel Norwood in compliance with his commands, he would ſometimes break out in a paſſion, and ſay, "What is "Sir Hugh Cholmley, that I muſt take notice of any thing "from him;" with many other expreſſions rude, and to the ſame purpoſe, which Sir Hugh wanted not to receive from ſeveral hands, and which made him little wonder to hear his inferior officers had ſome awe upon them in their ſervices, from

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the obſervations they did make of Colonel Norwood's little affection to the work, whoſe power was abſolute in the place, and whoſe quality they might conjecture equal to his titles, which were never leſs than Right Honourable in any proclamation publiſhed by his particular authority and command. All this paſſed with great calmneſs to any prejudice happening to the Mole; but Sir Hugh's affairs in England went not ſo ſmoothly on; inſtead of money, he never got any thing but orders upon the Exchequer, which were of ſo exceeding a remote expectation during the war, the fire, and the buſineſs of Chatham, that they were ſcarce paſſable upon any terms, never without his perſonal ſecurity and great loſs, and, what was worſt of all, his being tied to a ſlaviſh attendance at London, which the negociations of theſe orders obliged him to; farther perplexed with an intricate accompt of intereſt, with a bargain bad enough upon the beſt compliance, and with a tedious fit of ſickneſs, which made him leſs able to undergo the weight and burthen of ſo various and laborious an employment. He was attacked by letters from his own country, which brought news of great breaches in a little Mole, which he had there made for the benefit of his own eſtate, after it had been yearly repaired ſeveral ways, and by ſeveral experiments, which made many of his friends fear that the continual repair would take away a great deal of the profit, which the reputation of an harbour brought to his allum-works; therefore, Sir Hugh being that ſummer in the country, in the year 1666, he began to enter into ſerious conſiderations with himſelf, of an effectual way to preſerve that work for the future, having never digeſted any thing of this for Tangier, becauſe from the beginning to that day he never had been accoſted with any thing that might make him ſuſpect

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the ſtrength of the Mole, which he concluded ſubſtantial, becauſe of the extraordinary breadth, and becauſe that the ſtorms did not at any time, during his being at Tangier, appear in any proportion equal to the ſtorms which he had ſeen in the Northern ſea. For the ſecurity of his own work, he reaſoned with himſelf, why a ſmall poſt, which he obſerved placed for a mark to ſhipping, ſhould in the ſame place reſiſt the ſame ſeas, which at the ſame time laid level a mighty body of great ſtones. He concluded, that it came from this reaſon, that the ſea was not confined, but had a free paſſage about the poſt, which muſt, however, break as much of the wave, as the breadth of its own body. He then concluded, though a number of trees, if they were ſet contiguous before his work, could not ſtand, yet they would do ſo if they were ſet at a diſtance, and being ſet in ſeveral rows might be ſo ordered as every where to intercept the force of the ſea. This Sir Hugh put in practice that year, which at a very eaſy charge has preſerved the work ever ſince, without any repairs at all, and taught Sir Hugh this truth, which is, perhaps, the great ſecret in building a Mole, that the force of the ſea muſt be intercepted at twice; and that that force was eaſier ſuſtained by a body not contiguous, where the waves might ſpend their firſt force in the intervals, than where they could not do ſo, becauſe of the unitement of the work. Towards the end of the year 1668, the Earl of Sandwich returned into England; and Sir Hugh obtained ſo much favour from the King, as that the work ſhould be proceeded on in a new method under his care as Surveyor-General; and that the paſt work ſhould be adjuſted upon the accounts of the expence thereof, and for the future to be managed at his Majeſty's charge. Soon after this came Sir John Mordaunt, diſpatched from Tangier

by Colonel Norwood. He gave an account of the Mole; that though it had not received any breaches, yet from ſome violent ſeas, which lately happened, part of it was ſo ſhaken as much ſuſpected would fall down the next winter. Major Taylor writ in effect the ſame thing, giving all to the bad nature of the ſtone, which, he ſaid, cracked with its own weight; that he could not work better with ſecurity; that ſome of the men had been killed as they wrought at quarries, which were not under ſecure protection; that he was not ſuffered to open better quarries near the work, upon frivolous pretences of endangering the caſtle; that he had often complained of this defect of ſtone, and demanded ſecurity, before my Lord Sandwich's coming to Tangier, and again at his being there; and that ſometimes the ſame was denied, ſometimes promiſed, but always delayed, and never effected; and that, without any compliance of allowing better ſtone for the outſide, he could not promiſe any great ſecurity in the progreſs of the work. Sir Hugh had letters at the ſame time from Colonel Norwood, proclaiming his great fears, that all which the Major had done was to little purpoſe; and Sir John Mordaunt, in a ſeeming friendſhip to Sir Hugh, pretended to tranſgreſs his commiſſion, and ſhew a paper under Colonel Norwood's own hand, which was alſo with ſecrecy ſhewn to many others, wherein the work was greatly reflected upon; Major Taylor's integrity ſomething arraigned, with inſinuations that he was a man of great diſſimulation and art; that he had privately got great ſums of money; that, being now ſatisfied the work could never be done, he feigned being ſick and ill, and had a mind to run away from the employment, and carry away all the reputation of what was done already, and leave the diſhonour of the breaches that ſhould after happen, together

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with the . . . . . , the work to Sir Hugh Cholmley himſelf. Sir Hugh, reſolving for Tangier as ſoon as he had finiſhed his accompts, heard the ſeveral reports which did accoſt him, with as much indifferency as he could, as judging that they came for the moſt part from the ſame hand. When any one endeavoured to prejudice the Major by theſe ſlanders, he always ſaid, "He had better experience than to believe ſo ill of ſo deſerving a man." And to thoſe who endeavoured to raiſe Sir Hugh's envy againſt him, as if he would carry away the whole honour of the employment, Sir Hugh only replied, "That he had been an inſtrument for undertaking the work before Major Taylor either knew him, or had heard what a Mole was; that for himſelf, he was never bred a Maſon or a Carpenter, nor did pretend to any great ſkill of an Engineer; but thought he had ſo far conſidered the grounds of building all Moles, as to diſtinguiſh between ways practicable and notional; that all the King did expect from him was, to provide officers fit for the reſpective places; and that the field was large enough to give honour to every man according to what he might deſerve." Sir Hugh, upon his obſervations in other places, began now to conclude, that there were equal ſeas at Tangier; and therefore, before any notice ſent into England of the fall of the Mole, knowing that ſuch accidents were accuſtomed to make great noiſe from ſmall cauſes, he writ himſelf to Colonel Norwood, to let him know, that he did expect the winter ſtorms would make a breach in the Mole for a hundred yards or more; that this was cuſtomary in other places, and therefore, though it might ſeem much, yet ought in reaſon neither to ſurprize or deject any one; that it might poſſibly come from the ſettling of the foundation as well as from any other cauſe; that it could not be very

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conſiderable, becauſe Sir Hugh had always obſerved ſuch breaches never happened below low-water mark; that they would give ſtrength unto the foundation, and in this reſpect do as much good as the outſide would coſt to repair; and that, for the future preſervation of the work, he hoped to give that direction which ſhould be ſufficient. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to Major Taylor, withal deſiring him not to be dejected at any ſuch accident; but to continue the repair of the work, when it ſhould happen, with all courage and reſolution; and to bring up the outſide for the future with tarrace, of which he ſhould not fail to receive conſiderable quantities from England. Nor was he wanting, in his private diſcourſes, to let every one know the nature of ſuch breaches as might happen; and took liberty alſo to diſcourſe it to the King himſelf. About the time that theſe letters of his might have got to Tangier, came into England, from Colonel Norwood, the moſt ſad account of the firſt breach, which happened in the year 1668, where, inſtead of relating the matter of fact as it was, without doing this juſtice to the public ſervice and his Majeſty's honour, his expreſſions were: "That it was the moſt diſmal thing that eyes could behold; that the whole Mole was ſhaken; that near one hundred yards were taken quite away; that he had intentions to have ſent into England the petition he had received from the ſtrangers againſt the Corporation; but that now he thought he might avoid giving his Majeſty the trouble, becauſe that he believed his Majeſty would now not much concern himſelf either for the Garriſon or Corporation, or the place itſelf, unleſs he could compoſe his mind to a greater patience in building and repairing the Mole quite after a new method and way." To this purpoſe was the Colonel's letter; which proceeded to ſay, "That the true loſs could not well be com-

puted until the ſtorms were over, and then muſt be concluded upon the different meaſurement that it would now have, from the time my Lord Sandwich took it. And here I muſt obſerve a great piece of artifice, which will not otherwiſe be known. The Earl of Sandwich did not ſurvey the Mole with a deſign to determine the rate between the King and the Contractor; which he obſerved to be a thing of great difficulty, becauſe of the uncertain ſpreading and ſinking of the work, and therefore cauſed the plat of the Mole to be taken juſt as all things appeared; and ſo, beginning the work at the foot of York Caſtle, laid out the plat of the key; and finding this afterwards carried on all along by a contiguous work, in ſome places narrower, and in ſome broader, brought the deſcription of the whole platted juſt as it appeared into England, which his Lordſhip found to be three hundred and eighty yards, or thereabouts, at the largeſt extent; but there being then alſo further carried out for twenty yards ſome few ſetting-ſtones, which appeared at low water, this being vulgarly added to the length of the Mole, made the ſame commonly paſs in diſcourſe for four hundred yards. Others there were, who would not begin the Mole from this place, but from the firſt corner-ſtone laid in it, near which there is erected a great pillar, and which is ſeventy yards diſtant from that part of York Caſtle from whence the Mole was as aforeſaid begun to be meaſured. There wanted not private whiſpers, how much the King was deſigned to be cozened, though in truth Sir Hugh had never any other intentions than, if his Majeſty had been pleaſed to have concluded his accompts upon the meaſurement, to lay truly before him the account of cubical yards that had been thus done by him in making the ſaid key, and in joining the ſame by a work contiguous to the Mole; and then, becauſe

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all this was built in the ſame manner, with the ſame materials, and at the ſame expence, the Mole itſelf is made, to lay the matter at his Majeſty's feet, not as a due that poſſibly he could ſtrictly claim from the letter of the articles, but what his Majeſty might in bounty reaſonably allow upon the equitable conſtruction of them, and upon the demonſtration of a very bad bargain. This being the true ſtate of the caſe, there was no way ſo dextrous to inſinuate a mighty loſs, as by declaring the length in my Lord Sandwich's time to have been four hundred yards, according to the received opinion; and then, ſuppoſing all the length of the breach abſolutely loſt, as if the whole foundation had been ſunk and carried away, and beginning afterwards to meaſure from the pillar, which carried an equitable face, it was not difficult to impoſe upon many, that forty thouſand pounds could not make good the breaches; and ſome there were who ſaid it would coſt more than all the money the King had at that time allowed to build it. I cannot tell whether it was by art, or by misfortune; but ſure I am, Sir Hugh Cholmley received no account of this breach till a good while after Colonel Norwood's letters came to court, ſo that he was forced to ſtand the ſhock of this great aſſault, by demonſtrating, as well as he could, that if the whole length of the Mole was beaten down as far as it could be poſſible, yet this, being only from the low-water-mark upwards, might be repaired at a tenth part of the charge of what this loſs was ſaid to be; which was confirmed in a little time afterwards by the account that came from perſons diſintereſted on the place, as well as the officers of the Mole, who made the breach only for eighty-five yards outwards from the top, to within three or four feet above low-water-mark, and withal declaring that it did, in their opinion, a great deal

more good to the Mole than the repairs would come to, which was already in ſuch forwardneſs as to ſtop all further progreſs of the ſea. They gave alſo an account that they were ſo far from having any aſſiſtance at Tangier from the garriſon, that might help the exigency of the repairs methodically, and according to the ſenſe of the officers of the Mole who underſtood the thing, that inſtead thereof, to make the more noiſe, four or five hundred men were ordered to come upon the Mole, who, working in a confuſed manner, did much more hurt than good, and could ſcarce be reſtrained by the officers of the Mole from pulling down a great part of the end, which was yet a mighty protection to the work; upon pretences that if this was not buried in the ſea, in places where it could do no hurt, that the next ſtorm would carry the ſtones into the harbour, and quite fill up and deſtroy it: and, in lieu of giving encouragement to the officers of the Mole in this extremity, Major Taylor was generally aſperſed, as a perſon that deſerved to loſe his head, for providing no better againſt this misfortune; and Sir Hugh himſelf reflected upon, as one who juſtly deſerved to make good the loſs, as far as his eſtate would go, which was judged inſufficient to do it. And to magnify Colonel Norwood's ſkill, it was ſaid, that all proceeded becauſe his advice could not be hearkened unto, in making a *Batre-d'eau*, according to his own expreſſions; he himſelf, in his letters to the Lords Commiſſioners, openly arraigning Major Taylor for the not doing of this, which, he ſaid, would have prevented all, if it had been practiſed according to his opinion. Now becauſe this new word of a *Batre-d'eau* will not be ſo thoroughly underſtood, I ſhall a little explain the meaning of it, and why it was not made as the Colonel did deſire: by this *Batre-d'eau* was meant no more than the throwing, all along the ſide of

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the Mole next the ſea, as big ſtones as could be well carried; and by putting them in irregularly, and after any faſhion, it was believed that this would be a great preſervation to the work itſelf, though built with greater regularity. Colonel Norwood having formerly writ to Sir Hugh Cholmley himſelf of the neceſſity of this break-water in the year 1667, and Major Taylor's letters concurring in the ſame opinion; Sir Hugh Cholmley writ both to Colonel Norwood and to Major Taylor to this purpoſe: "That he never had obſerved by all his experience, nor did believe it poſſible, that any ſtorm could bring the work lower down than to low-water-mark; that, if this break-water extended no higher, it would not be at all uſeful for this purpoſe; that, if the break-water was built to high-water-mark, it would be unlikely that ſtones irregularly caſt down, and of the ſame ſize, ſhould reſiſt the power of the ſea, when the Mole itſelf, which was better built, had not force to do it; and that all the effect it could have, was only to preſerve the Mole till this break-water itſelf was broken down." Sir Hugh Cholmley writ to Major Taylor, "That the break-water ſeemed to him a great work; and that the allowance of it upon the contract might meet with great diſputes; that the Mole, being made only with dry ſtones, if beaten down, would by its fall make this break-water ſtronger than hands could do it; that the repairs of the outſide would not be ſo much; and that, for the future preſervation of the work, means might be thought on of a leſs expence; and that Sir Hugh would do what he could to prepare the Lords Commiſſioners to allow the charge of this break-water, as what might be reaſonably comprehended as part of the foundation of the work itſelf, in caſe it ſhould be found of abſolute neceſſity." Major Taylor, in a good meaſure convinced of the truth of this argument, and having

having good reaſon to ſuſpect, that though Colonel Norwood preſſed the making this break-water, yet, when it came to be paid for, he would be as much againſt his Majeſty's giving allowance for it, as upon other occaſions he had declared himſelf to be, did proceed as warily as he could in extending the foundations of the Mole beyond the limits reſtrained by the contract: having yet had very little damage from the ſtorms, he hoped to ſecure what was done by laying part of the outſide with lime and tarrace; this being in itſelf of much leſs charge, and of more probability for the preſervation of the work, than ſuch a break-water appeared to be. Some little time after the coming of Colonel Norwood's letters that had ſo mightily inflamed this breach, the news of which filled all the Gazettes of Europe, Sir Hugh receives a letter from the Colonel himſelf, wherein the matter is ſo far mollified, as that he ſays, "the ſtorms were like to have made a deluge in the work, had they not ſuddenly abated by a kind of miracle." In the ſame letter he congratulates Sir Hugh's good fortune, in being cleared by his Majeſty from the obligations of the contract; but with his kindneſs mixed expreſſions reflecting upon Sir Hugh's underſtanding, to make a bargain that ſtood in need of ſo much favour: he greatly vilifies what had been done; and aſperſes Major Taylor, as deſigning to take what was well upon himſelf, and to caſt the ill upon Sir Hugh's inſtructions; but tells him, he had a better opinion of his underſtanding than to believe this, and mixeth with his compliment this moſt ſevere parentheſis, "(although Sir Hugh did, as it were, truſt the Major almoſt blindfold in his buſineſs):" he afterwards propoſes ſome expedients of his own, for the future practice; and concludes, that he would ſpeak much more effectually, were he joined in the ſame commiſſion with Sir Hugh for the

conduct

conduct of this affair. But Sir Hugh, though he began to be very weary of ſo burthenſome and uncertain an employment, received the propoſition with ſome kind of indignation: he thought himſelf too conſiderable, after having ſo long ſuſtained the heat of the day, to part the harveſt with a man who had ſo viſibly endeavoured to bring his labours to ruin and public diſhonour; he obſerved too that theſe mighty relations of the misfortunes of the Mole were inflamed at a time when Colonel Norwood knew he was paſſing his accompts, and ſettling the matter according to a new model, by which he might ſafely act without endangering his eſtate, and diſpute the ſervice of his Maſter without the reproach of any particular intereſt of his own. As this was a point of higheſt importance to his quiet and ſecurity, ſo he could not but more ſenſibly receive a blow that came, as it were, purpoſely deſigned to daſh in pieces all the hopes he had; for as, a little before, the fair account which my Lord Sandwich brought of the Mole, as to the progreſs that had been made, the care and conduct of the work, the capacity of the officers, and eſpecially of Major Taylor, who was chiefly entruſted, was a great motive to the obtaining his Majeſty's gracious order in council, of December 2, 1668, whereby his Majeſty is pleaſed to declare his ſatisfaction with Sir Hugh's ſervices, to order the examination and diſcharge of his accompts for what was paſt, and to have the work for the future carried on not by contract, but by an account of the daily expence; ſo, before this could be accompliſhed, to have ſo diſmal a relation ſent from Tangier, as in a manner to level all at once, and bury it in the ſea, and vilify the whole work, as if the worſe for what had been done, to aſperſe publicly Sir Hugh Cholmley's principal officers with characters bad enough, and underhand

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with the baſeſt imaginable, was, conſidering the juncture of affairs, not unlikely to put great obſtructions to ſettling the future conduct of the Mole, according to the fair proſpect of Sir Hugh Cholmley's hopes. But it pleaſed God to direct the ſhaft another way, and Sir Hugh never found ſo many friends as he did after this attack; ſome of higheſt quality letting him know they had ſeen Colonel Norwood's letter, which, be the breaches of the Mole what they would, were writ with ſo much paſſion, as did not ſuit with his Majeſty's honour, and made it plain he had not equal intentions towards Sir Hugh himſelf. The Miniſters of State, unto whom he had occaſion to apply himſelf for the ſettlement of the new model for governing the Mole, were ſo far from obſtructing the matter, that they all ſeemed full of deſires to give it a ſpeedy diſpatch: ſome, embracing him with kindneſs, let him know they perceived his labours were aſſaulted; but that, be the iſſue what it would, the undertaking was generous in him, and managed at leaſt with diligence and care; that, in other countries, thoſe that laboured for the publick, uſed to meet a public ſupport; that it was unhappy for his Majeſty's affairs, that in England the humour was ſo far from bearing ſuch a generoſity, as his Majeſty's moſt noble deſigns met with obſtruction from the private animoſities of men whoſe envy did often impede and accoſt his public labours; others there were, perſons in the higheſt truſt, and with whom Sir Hugh's acquaintance could not challenge ſo much kindneſs, that were themſelves ſo generous and friendly as to obſerve ſome defects of great importance in the due penning of ſuch orders as had paſſed for the diſcharge of his accounts, and new ſettling the affair as aforeſaid: generally all contributed with much affection; and Sir Hugh had every where great obligations, but more eſpeci-

ally to the King himſelf and his Royal Highneſs, who ſeemed with ſome concernment to give his affairs at this time a more than ordinary ſupport of their Royal favour and protection; but the neceſſary delays in examining and taking his paſſed accounts, according to the ſcrutiny of an Exchequer examination, let him ſee it was impoſſible for him to hope a diſpatch timely enough to carry him in the beginning of the ſummer to Tangier; and Major Taylor's declining health made him conclude it neceſſary to ſupply his place by ſome perſon ſuited to the employment; and for that purpoſe he made choice of a relation of his own, Major William Wickham, who had ſerved his late Majeſty with great faith under Sir Hugh's father in the late war, and of whoſe integrity he had ſufficient aſſurances. And for the better execution of the mechanical part of the work, he caſt his eye upon one Mr. Henry Shere, a perſon who had paſſed ſome time in Spain in the train of the Earl of Sandwich, and was lately returned with him from Tangier; declaring unto him, and to others, according to the received opinion of that time, nothing but praiſes and commendations of the Mole, and the hopeful ſtate in which they left it. Sir Hugh had, from the ſaid Earl, received a good character of Mr. Shere's ability, as a perſon who had his education under Mr. Tippet, and very well verſed in the knowledge of building ſhips and veſſels; that he was an ingenious perſon, but young, and apt to run too faſt in the proſecution of his own conceptions, and therefore to be tempered with a ſteady and a wary hand: which Sir Hugh reſolved to do as well as he could, and therefore entertained him in his ſervice; and after a few days obſerved Mr. Shere's diſcourſe to be very much altered from the general commendation which before he gave the work, and to inſinuate nothing more than that the ſame

had been proceeded on upon wrong principles, and that nothing could be well done unleſs it were carried on with cheſts; and did attribute the reaſon of the preſent breaches to happen becauſe the foundation of the Mole under-water ſlid out becauſe of the preſſure of the weight above, and that the buſineſs muſt be remedied from cheſts placed to the very bottom of the ſea, which he was of opinion they practiſed in Genoa, even in fifteen fathom water, and was not convinced of his error, though Sir Hugh did demonſtrate the impoſſibility of it, by letting him underſtand that the ſea was ſo far from doing any injury to the Mole under water, that, notwithſtanding the breaches which had happened, ſeveral courſes of ſtone appeared above low-water-mark regularly ſet as they had been at firſt placed, and the foundation of the Mole itſelf was ſtrengthened by a break-water near twenty yards in breadth, which could not poſſibly be removed by the perpendicular weight of four yards, which was the height of the Mole from low-water-mark: and further, Sir Hugh let him underſtand that he had certain information, that at Genoa they filled up with ſtones, promiſcuouſly caſt, the foundations of the Mole, till within about ſixteen feet of the ſurface of the water; and that, from his own experience, he had been taught, that the force of the ſea muſt be intercepted at twice: he propoſed, as a means to preſerve the Mole for the future, the driving in wood-piles at Tangier, and within theſe making artificial rocks, according to the preſent practice, ſtrongly bound with iron, and cemented with lead; and, to explain the thing the better, demonſtrated the ſame with models of ſtone; and deſiring Mr. Shere to uſe all poſſible care to preſerve the Mole againſt the breaches of the following winter, he did, with thoſe inſtructions, diſpatch him and Major Wickham to Tangier, enjoining them both to ſubmit to Major Taylor

or whilſt he was upon the place, and, in his abſence, to take upon themſelves the ſupreme care and conduct of the affair; and, to the end no eſſay might be omitted, Sir Hugh had cauſed two cheſts to be made at Portſmouth, which, being ready framed, were at the ſame time tranſported to Tangier; though Sir Hugh's deſigns in theſe cheſts were merely to place them on the inſide of the Mole, the better to make an upright key in deep water, for the more commodious unlading of ſhips. Major Wickham and Mr. Shere went to Tangier in May, 1669; and arrived there, by a very happy paſſage, the beginning of June. Mr. Shere was a little ſurprized to find Major Taylor ſtill at Tangier, becauſe the diſcourſe of his leaving the place made him hope he might before have begun his journey, becauſe Mr. Shere did think the reputation of the affair would have redounded upon himſelf; and that, if he could turn the whole work in another way, he ſhould be ſtill more conſiderable: but Major Taylor being upon the place, and reſolving to continue there until Sir Hugh Cholmley's arrival, did exceedingly mortify Mr. Shere, in eclipſing, as he thought, his glory; for the Major, who by long practice underſtood the thing perfectly well, ſtill confuted, by plain demonſtration, Mr. Shere's ſpeculative notions; but contradictions uſually breeding an unkindneſs, made the Major and Mr. Shere be at ſome kind of diſtance; which Colonel Norwood obſerving, wanted not to foment as much as poſſible, by countenancing Mr. Shere all he could, and decrying the Major as a perſon wedded to his will, and unſkilled in the affair; and this did ſo exceedingly raiſe Mr. Shere's expectation, that, though in his nature an honeſt and ingenuous gentleman, yet, ſoothed in this manner by the greateſt power in the place, he could not ſo far temper his own inclinations, being young, and full of aſpiring thoughts, but that his carriage ſeemed ſo forward as to create

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him great envy in the place; the officers, knowing his birth and education, unwillingly ſuffering his perſon always next and in diſcourſe with the Lieutenant Governor, who extolled him every where as much as once he had done Major Taylor, who, being proof againſt all temptation, was not now worthy of farther conſideration; but Mr. Shere, if as honeſt in his principles, yet wanted many years and much of the temper Major Taylor had; his complexion at leaſt made him more ſubject to be wrought upon by inſinuations and ſnares, and at worſt it was a great point gained to have, in the bowels of the Mole, a diſſenting perſon in a poſt ſo eminent, and one ſo greatly favoured by Sir Hugh himſelf. Mr. Shere, in this high eſteem, could leſs eaſily brook ſo great ſuperiority as Sir Hugh had placed in Major Taylor, and therefore began openly to quarrel with the Major for placing officers in the Mole without his privity, and endeavoured what he could to draw Major Wickham to his party; but this gentleman, being a near relation to Sir Hugh, had diſtaſted much ſo great a familiarity as Mr. Shere kept with Colonel Norwood, who was an apparent enemy, and daily obſtructor and defamer of his labours; and beſides began to entertain a great kindneſs for Major Taylor, whom he obſerved faithful to Sir Hugh's intereſt in the higheſt degree, and exceeding tender of his honour; that, on the contrary, Mr. Shere, aſpiring to take ſo much upon himſelf, and finding continually fault with the principles upon which the work had been proceeded, did, if not wittingly, unwarily at leaſt, aſperſe Sir Hugh's conduct, by reflections not ſo well becoming a perſon introduced merely by his kindneſs and favour. And it was the common diſcourſe of the place, that Mr. Shere was ſent over to build the Mole, as almoſt the only man in the world that had capacity to do it. Soon after, Mr. Shere being

at Tangier, he gives Sir Hugh a very doubting account of things; and concludes, he was daily more confirmed that the reaſon happened from the Mole's giving way in the ſliding out of the foundation. Sir Hugh, knowing the impoſſibiſity of this, and having had a caution of Mr. Shere's forward temper, out of mere kindneſs to the gentleman, writ him word that the contrary, to his opinion, was perfectly demonſtrable, and therefore adviſed him to keep himſelf from divulging ſuch conceptions until Sir Hugh came to Tangier. This was writ from London, about the beginning of Auguſt, in the year 1669; and it was the 27th day of Auguſt ere Sir Hugh had brought his accompts to a diſpatch, and the new model of the Mole eſtabliſhed; and though the buſineſs paſſed this day, yet, by reaſon of his Majeſty's going into the country, there was a diſcontinuance in the meeting of the council for near a month, and, with all the ſolicitation Sir Hugh Cholmley could give his affairs, he got not the orders of council neceſſary under the ſeal of the office, before the very morning he departed towards Tangier; having firſt ſettled well his paſſed accompts, and eſtabliſhed a model for the future governing of the Mole, and taken all care neceſſarily preceding ſo long a journey; every thing being thus prepared, excepting the buſineſs of a Treaſurer at Tangier, which was a care by the new model incumbent upon the Lords Commiſſioners. Sir Hugh had, however, ſolicited the buſineſs thus far before his departure, that Alderman Backwell and Mr. Pepys did tell him, they were come to a perfect underſtanding of the matter; and Sir Hugh wanted not aſſurance a Treaſurer would be ſent to Tangier before his coming thither. It was impoſſible for Sir Hugh to bring this buſineſs to a greater certainty, becauſe the time of year called upon him to begin his journey, and Mr. Pepys was not returned

turned from his travels, which had carried him for ſome months to viſit Paris and other foreign parts. Upon the 20th of October, 1669, Sir Hugh began his journey from London toward Tangier, with his wife and family, and by a paſſage over land through France and Spain, which he reſolved upon for ſeveral weighty reaſons; firſt, it was, as the caſe ſtood, probable to have proved the moſt ſpeedy paſſage, there being no hopes of a convoy in leſs time than two months, and then he did not judge a ſingle frigate ſufficient, conſidering the ſquadrons the Turks uſually went in ſince the war; that the adventure was no leſs than all that he had of neareſt conſideration; and, beſides, the common inconveniencies attending ſo great a captivity, if it had happened, carried many aggravating circumſtances, that might ariſe from the ill ſucceſſes of the Mole; that, if his journey had been begun by ſea, he muſt have paſſed it in the heart of winter, which he was afraid might have been of dangerous conſequence to the health of his lady, who had been ſubject formerly upon vomits to ſtrain unto blood; that, admitting his journey by land ſpun out to the moſt tedious paſſage that could be well imagined, it was yet likely to carry it to Tangier by the end of winter, and he had no great deſire to come ſooner thither, becauſe, had the breaches in the Mole ariſing from the winter ſtorms happened upon his arrival there, he muſt have borne the weight of the misfortune, without being able in that ſeaſon to give ſuch redreſs unto the repair, as was neceſſary in time to have retrieved its reputation. Sir Hugh paſſed with very good ſpeed as far as the town of Pons in France, not far from Bourdeaux, but was forced to tarry here becauſe of the ſickneſs of his lady, her niece, and ſeveral others in his family; after twenty-ſeven days, they got thus much ſtrength as to be carried from their beds to the coach, and ſo advanced

vanced two days onward to Blay, where a very extraordinary winter had frozen the river, ſo that they were there detained about ten days, recovering ſtrength ſo ſlowly in that hard ſeaſon as forced them, for better health, to repoſe twelve days at Bourdeaux; from whence he paſſed, with good ſpeed, as far as Burgos in Spain, and there again the ſeverity of the winter made the ways farther impaſſable, and detained him for about ten days longer. At Madrid, Sir Hugh himſelf fell ill, and was conſtrained for the recovery of his health to phyſic often, and bleed ſeveral times, which detained him there for twenty days more; from whence he got to Tangier by a paſſage of indifferent ſpeed, having ſpent ſomewhat leſs than ſix months in his journey from London, and about half the time in the neceſſary retardments which ſickneſs did occaſion. On the way, Sir Hugh met with advices that gave him notice of Mr. Shere's departure from Tangier to Genoa, and how hugely Colonel Norwood magnified this action of his for the prudence and modeſty of it, not without reflections upon Sir Hugh himſelf, for undertaking the work of the Mole without a conſideration ſuited to the weight of the deſign; but more eſpecially Major Taylor was anew cenſured for what before the Colonel had accuſed him in letters to Sir Hugh; his want of compliance with the Colonel's demands, which had formerly required him to undertake this journey himſelf, which the Major unſatisfied excuſed, that he dared not do this without Sir Hugh's ſpecial licence, who had put him at the head of his affairs; and, beſides this, Sir Hugh met intimations at Madrid of another report, that was every where in Tangier and in Spain with great ſecrecy ſpread abroad, as if Sir Thomas Allen had ſaid, "That at his late arrival in England, he had accoſted him with promiſes of great rewards, to give a falſe account to his Majeſty of the concern-

turned from his travels, which had carried him for ſome months to viſit Paris and other foreign parts. Upon the 20th of October, 1669, Sir Hugh began his journey from London toward Tangier, with his wife and family, and by a paſſage over land through France and Spain, which he reſolved upon for ſeveral weighty reaſons; firſt, it was, as the caſe ſtood, probable to have proved the moſt ſpeedy paſſage, there being no hopes of a convoy in leſs time than two months, and then he did not judge a ſingle frigate ſufficient, conſidering the ſquadrons the Turks uſually went in ſince the war; that the adventure was no leſs than all that he had of neareſt conſideration; and, beſides, the common inconveniencies attending ſo great a captivity, if it had happened, carried many aggravating circumſtances, that might ariſe from the ill ſucceſſes of the Mole; that, if his journey had been begun by ſea, he muſt have paſſed it in the heart of winter, which he was afraid might have been of dangerous conſequence to the health of his lady, who had been ſubject formerly upon vomits to ſtrain unto blood; that, admitting his journey by land ſpun out to the moſt tedious paſſage that could be well imagined, it was yet likely to carry it to Tangier by the end of winter, and he had no great deſire to come ſooner thither, becauſe, had the breaches in the Mole ariſing from the winter ſtorms happened upon his arrival there, he muſt have borne the weight of the misfortune, without being able in that ſeaſon to give ſuch redreſs unto the repair, as was neceſſary in time to have retrieved its reputation. Sir Hugh paſſed with very good ſpeed as far as the town of Pons in France, not far from Bourdeaux, but was forced to tarry here becauſe of the ſickneſs of his lady, her niece, and ſeveral others in his family; after twenty-ſeven days, they got thus much ſtrength as to be carried from their beds to the coach, and ſo ad-

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vanced two days onward to Blay, where a very extraordinary winter had frozen the river, ſo that they were there detained about ten days, recovering ſtrength ſo ſlowly in that hard ſeaſon as forced them, for better health, to repoſe twelve days at Bourdeaux; from whence he paſſed, with good ſpeed, as far as Burgos in Spain, and there again the ſeverity of the winter made the ways farther impaſſable, and detained him for about ten days longer. At Madrid, Sir Hugh himſelf fell ill, and was conſtrained for the recovery of his health to phyſic often, and bleed ſeveral times, which detained him there for twenty days more; from whence he got to Tangier by a paſſage of indifferent ſpeed, having ſpent ſomewhat leſs than ſix months in his journey from London, and about half the time in the neceſſary retardments which ſickneſs did occaſion. On the way, Sir Hugh met with advices that gave him notice of Mr. Shere's departure from Tangier to Genoa, and how hugely Colonel Norwood magnified this action of his for the prudence and modeſty of it, not without reflections upon Sir Hugh himſelf, for undertaking the work of the Mole without a conſideration ſuited to the weight of the deſign; but more eſpecially Major Taylor was anew cenſured for what before the Colonel had accuſed him in letters to Sir Hugh; his want of compliance with the Colonel's demands, which had formerly required him to undertake this journey himſelf, which the Major unſatisfied excuſed, that he dared not do this without Sir Hugh's ſpecial licence, who had put him at the head of his affairs; and, beſides this, Sir Hugh met intimations at Madrid of another report, that was every where in Tangier and in Spain with great ſecrecy ſpread abroad, as if Sir Thomas Allen had ſaid, "That at his late arrival in England, he had accoſted him with promiſes of great rewards, to give a falſe account to his Majeſty of the concern-

concernments of the Mole;" when, in truth, what paſſed was by the means of Mr. Matthew Wren, who, from Sir Hugh, repreſented to Sir Thomas, "that, his accompts being juſt in paſſing, it was a great criſis of his buſineſs, which made him deſire as fair an account of the Mole as might in truth be given;" and more than this Sir Thomas had too much honour of himſelf to ſay; but the addition came, as Sir Hugh conjectures, in the ſame way as a former of this kind, which is before intimated to have been related to him from a Lady of quality.

From Bourdeaux Sir Hugh was not wanting to repreſent unto the Lords Commiſſioners the obligations that reſted upon themſelves to ſettle a Treaſurer at Tangier, and the neceſſities that the work would be reduced to from longer want of this; which again from Bayonne, by other letters, he enforced by the beſt arguments he could; repreſenting matters ſo, that in reaſon the Lords could expect nothing but a diſcontinuance of work, from a longer delay of ſettling the payments for it.

Upon Sir Hugh's arrival at Cadiz, he found his affairs in this unhappy condition. Thoſe orders, which the Lords Commiſſioners had granted him for money before his departure, had been unpaid for about ſix months; by which occaſion ſeveral bills of exchange, to a great value, had lain long proteſted at London, to ſo much weakening of his credit, that he had little hopes to find a ſupply of money upon other bills he ſhould proffer to the Spaniſh merchants. From Tangier he had advice, that the honour of the work was gone, as to the reputation of punctual payment, which it formerly alone had of all the public expences under his Majeſty's care, no private work being kept with greater regularity in this kind; that there was a four-months pay in arrear, and the men, for want

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of money, neither working at the rate they uſed to do, nor kept in the ſame good diſcipline and order; that all was held together, out of hopes of money upon his arrival at Tangier; and that, if he did not then give ſome ſtop to the clamours of men, it would be a mighty leſſening to that reputation he might otherways hope for upon his coming thither.

From Mr. Shere Sir Hugh received a perfect account of the way of building at Genoa, agreeing juſt to what he had declared to him before his journey to Tangier; firſt, that it was the only Mole in the world ever made in this way; that they filled up the water by ſtones caſt in promiſcuouſly till it came within eighteen feet of the top of the water; that afterwards they plained the foundation, and placed a cheſt upon this, which they could eaſily do, becauſe the ſea was for ſix months perfectly calm, had no motion of a tide, and was always at the ſame height; that, when the cheſt was ſunk, there never appeared a foot of it above the water; that upon theſe cheſts they built with ſtone and tarrace, ſo that to the eye there appeared nothing but a Mole of ſtone; that, for the better preſervation of the cheſts and the work, they made without them a water-breaker, which was a ledge of great ſtones promiſcuouſly caſt down until they appeared above the top of the cheſts, and were at all times above the height of the water, and ſo a perfect interception to the force of the ſea. After this, Mr. Shere took notice of the great damages the work had received that winter, of the low reputation it was brought to, and how much it concerned Sir Hugh's honour to give ſome ſpeedy remedy: all which was very worthily and honeſtly obſerved; for the little experience Sir Hugh's officers had, in repairing and preventing ſuch diſaſters, did not a little diſcompoſe the moſt judicious among them, and all opinions in prejudice to the

Mole being greedily received and inflamed by a party on the place, who, ſeeing viſibly the accidents that had happened, and being deſirous to caſt it upon the wrong meaſures on which the work had proceeded, blaſted all as if it had been better unbegun, and thought they could not err in crying up cheſt-work, as the only way to mend the matter, becauſe they had heard the Mole at Genoa was built in this manner, and generally cried up to be an exquiſite piece; but this proceeded from the want of conſideration in them, in underſtanding the grounds upon which the work at Genoa proceeded, and want of ſkill to find a fitting expedient, and applicable to help the matter at Tangier. Mr. Shere, who underſtood the buſineſs of cheſts exceeding well, had declared himſelf ſo much for that way of proceeding, he could not eaſily withdraw himſelf; but, obſerving that it was impoſſible to place a cheſt here, as at Genoa, eighteen feet deep, and ſo that at all times there ſhould only appear to the eye one foot above the water, becauſe ſuch a fabric, floating with a hollow which is to be filled up after it was placed, by hard labouring night and day in a calm and ſtill ſea, could not at Tangier allow for this a ſufficient time, becauſe the flood would immediately fill the cheſt that men could not work within it; and, beſides, if it were practicable, that it only advanced the work ſo far as it is at Tangier, after a ſtorm has levelled it as low as it can, that is, a little above low-water mark, and that doing this would give but little life to the reputation of the affair; therefore Mr. Shere propoſed, that the foundation ſhould be brought up as formerly unto within five feet of low-water-mark, and the cheſt to be placed upon this, which, being fourteen feet in height, would, by this account, at low-water, appear nine feet of cheſt-work to the eye: and becauſe this ſort of work

was not likely to be more ſtrong than the work which Major Taylor had laid in tarrace; and beſides that at Genoa there was a ledge of rocks for protection of the work and the cheſts; he propoſed making without the Mole that which he called a water-breaker, which was to be raiſed about twelve feet above low-water-mark, and built juſt in the ſame manner as the Mole is begun at Tangier, from which this water-breaker differed only in name, ſave that the dimenſions propoſed for building of it made a body of ſtone about a third part greater than the proportions allowed for building the preſent Mole. And becauſe it was an obvious objection, that this break-water could not endure the force of the ſea, if the preſent Mole was incapable to do it; to mend this matter, Mr. Shere declared, that the reaſon why the preſent Mole was incapable to reſiſt the force of the ſea proceeded from the ſmall ſize of the ſtones brought unto it, none of which did exceed three tons; but that he made no queſtion to bring ſtones from fifteen to forty tons by veſſels built on purpoſe, with which this water-breaker ſhould be made. He was wholly for laying aſide the horſes and land carriages; declaring, that the introduction of this proceeded from perfect ignorance in thoſe that had formerly made engines here for carrying ſtones by water, who contrived them improperly for the purpoſe intended, all which he could rectify with facility and eaſe. Mr. Shere, being very confident that this way was the moſt exquiſite that could be propoſed, ſent the ſame in writing to Sir Hugh into Spain, and gave another copy to Major Taylor; and in the ſame paper declared his opinion to be, that repairing and ſecuring the preſent work was by much the moſt difficult part of the whole taſk; and therefore, beſides a water-breaker built for the defence of it, he propoſed another ledge of rocks, to be

carried out merely as a defence to the workmen againſt the Levant ſeas, which, being frequent in ſummer, did much incommode their labour; ſo that in truth the work Mr. Shere had laid down as a preparatory defence to that part of the Mole which was damnified from the winter ſtorms, could not be built, by the way of the preſent practice, in leſs time than three years at the uſual allowance; nor in many more by the way of bringing ſuch great ſtones as he propoſed, becauſe of the continual agitations of the ſeas, which made the motion by water very ſlow and of difficult practice. Theſe propoſals from Mr. Shere found Sir Hugh in Spain, at the end of his journey, without money, without credit; the work at Tangier generally of a loſt reputation, moſt of his own officers deſpairing, Major Taylor himſelf exceeding doubtful from the inconſtancy of weather. He had alſo intimation that Colonel Norwood had publicly reflected upon his journey by land, as an action weak and unreaſonable, and which ſhewed the unſteady temper of Sir Hugh himſelf, and how little he was qualified for an employment of ſuch weight as was entruſted with him. Sir Hugh endeavoured what he could to ſtruggle with the ſeveral perplexities he met with; and knowing all would be too little if he came empty-handed to Tangier, he left not a ſtone unturned to raiſe money, and was happy enough, upon his own ſecurity, to procure about five thouſand pounds ſterling; and, to qualify what he could the injuries he might receive from ill offices done in England, and eſpecially the reflection he ſuppoſed would be caſt upon him from his long abſence from Tangier, he took leave, in his letters to the Lords Commiſſioners, to remind them, that he had been long detained at London from the neceſſary attendance about money; and that, if the King's affairs required his ſooner

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preſence at Tangier, it was plain, from the diſcredit he had met with ſince his departure, that he was come too ſoon for this moſt material part, and upon which the whole did depend; and, that he might keep their Lordſhips the beſt he could from receiving over-ill impreſſions of the work, from the report he had reaſon at that time to ſuſpect would be carried into England, he deſired they would pleaſe a little to ſuſpend their judgements, becauſe the cauſe of the paſt misfortunes to the Mole, and the means of ſecuring it for the future, ſeemed to him ſo plain and obvious, he did not doubt, upon his coming to Tangier, to raiſe the reputation of the work to the ſatisfaction of their Lordſhips.

Sir Hugh had no ſooner landed at Tangier but he gave ſome life to the ſpirits of the workmen by a four-months pay, which he did immediately diſcharge. He was glad to find Major Taylor had wrought himſelf into my Lord Middleton's opinion; and that his Excellency declared that he found it true, that the breaches did better the Mole, in ſtrengthening its foundation, and were not in themſelves of ſo great conſequence as he did at firſt apprehend them to be. He received an account from Major Taylor, and all his officers, that his Excellency had given the work all manner of encouragement and countenance; that he did truly wiſh the good of the Mole, as what would make his government conſiderable; but that his Excellency was full of doubts and fears it could not be accompliſhed, looking upon repairing all by the ſame kind of tarrace-work as formerly, ſtill ſubjected to like breaches and misfortunes: on the other hand, the ſatisfaction his Excellency had once received, upon the firſt diſcourſe with Mr. Shere, appeared every day ſo little practicable, as his Excellency began to make no dependance upon the overtures of one who

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overſhot himſelf ſo much, and ſo plainly, in all the meaſures he had taken.

Sir Hugh found Major Taylor very ill in his health, and deſirous to return for England, out of hopes to receive from Scarborough-water the like benefits he had formerly found upon the like diſtemper. He found the Major perfectly agreeing with himſelf of the unreaſonableneſs of practiſing cheſt-work in that place, and that he did not queſtion to perfect the Mole in the way of the proceeding, if ſo be there happened ſo much good weather as to ſuffer the tarrace to harden: but the uncertainty of the ſeas made him greatly apprehenſive of the iſſue. Sir Hugh aſked what he thought of the propoſals he had made with piles; to which the Major replied, "that he approved of them well for a few years, whilſt they might be kept free from the works; but that the ſeas had been ſo uncertain, and his health ſo very bad, he could neither by himſelf, or by any means to Mr. Shere, get one of them placed in a twelve-month's time." Sir Hugh replied, "that he did not ſo much conſider the duration of piles, as the uſe of them in protecting thoſe pillars and rocks which he intended to place as a defence to the Mole, until ſuch time as the tarrace which cemented them did ſet and harden." To this the Major ſaid, "he did well approve the making ſuch rocks as Sir Hugh had often mentioned in his letters, but that he did not apprehend how they could be practically done; that he was in greater doubt upon diſcourſing the ſame with Mr. Shere, to whom Sir Hugh had explained the matter, becauſe he made the thing a notion only worthy his ſmile, and not a ſerious conſideration." Sir Hugh then explained his meaning to the Major, who preſently did apprehend the facility of the thing, with a per-

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feet ſatisfaction of the good event it would have; and immediately this ſort of defence to the Mole was put in practice.

Sir Hugh preſently let the whole town ſee how Mr. Shere's propoſitions ended, only in this, that if there was a Mole built without cheſts, afterwards at a new charge of double as much he could build within the protection of this another Mole with cheſts; for this was the plain ſenſe of his paper. He further ſhewed that the work he had cut in his propoſal could ſcarce be built at the King's allowance in fifty years; he let Mr. Shere know, that after the firſt engines for bringing ſtones were found uſeleſs at Tangier, there were other veſſels framed by the beſt builders in England, ſuch as ſailed from thence to Tangier, and after great expence in framing them, and being kept two years in Tangier, without being able almoſt in all that time to work twenty days, they were in the end cut to pieces, as of uſeleſs and very unprofitable practice. This being by all the ſeamen generally declared to be true, did greatly diſcourage Mr. Shere's hopes of bringing ſuch mighty ſtones as he propoſed; and he found ſo many objections againſt the building with cheſts, that he did readily confeſs that for this place he was now of opinion only one cheſt would be neceſſary to cloſe every year's work, to keep the end from the ſuck of the ſea. Sir Hugh told him, "he was not againſt this, the rather becauſe he had two cheſts already bought and paid for; otherwiſe he found plainly he could ſecure the end full as well, if not better, at a fifth part of the expence. Mr. Shere began to be mightily mortified to find his propoſals and miſtakes made ſo obvious, that it was almoſt the mirth of the place to diſcourſe how well he had rectified the meaſures of the work, againſt which he had made ſo open and ſo loud complaints; he was ſtill extremely concerned to know how Sir Hugh would

would proceed in the repair of the paſt breaches; to which he made him anſwer, "he would take that upon himſelf, and did not doubt to give a good account of it, large as it ſeemed, by the end of ſummer, and before Mr. Shere would get one veſſel made for carrying ſuch ſtones as he propoſed; and deſired Mr. Shere to apply himſelf to the carrying on the cheſt, and laying that to paſs, which was a work Sir Hugh had no deſire to meddle with himſelf, as being what the more he thought of the leſs he liked."

In about ten days time after Sir Hugh's arrival he got one pillar made, which gave ſo great ſatisfaction to my Lord Middleton, that he openly declared, if that ſort of work would not do, it was, he thought, impoſſible to build a Mole at Tangier, and that he approved of it much better than cheſted work. This was a great point gained, for all the ſoldiers conformed themſelves to the example of the General; and it was mighty happy for the King's affairs, that his Excellency my Lord Howard had made ſo long a continuance at Tangier; for the countenance he gave unto the ſervice, before my Lord Middleton's arrival, kept things at that time in a much better ſtate than might have been otherwiſe expected, from the parties and animoſities that had been fomented in the garriſon: beſides, his Excellency found a moſt effectual expedient to mollify the minds of all, which was, to let them ſee, that the diſreputation they caſt upon the Mole was the occaſion that their Commanders were ſlighted, and their concerments neglected, in England; ſo that ſmall care was had either of the pay, or aught elſe that related to the garriſon. Things being brought to this fair paſs upon the place, Sir Hugh being willing to diſpatch Major Taylor into England, becauſe he judged his coming there might be very ſeaſonable to his affairs, he writ to

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the King and to the Duke, and to moſt other great men intruſted with his Majeſty's affairs; my Lord Middleton concurred in the declaring the fair hopes he had, contrary to the ſenſe of ſome former letters when the work had a more ſad aſpect; he gave a fair character of Major Taylor, and the ſame was confirmed by letters from his Excellency my Lord Howard. Major Taylor had not been long gone, but Sir Hugh Cholmley made ſo great a progreſs in the pillars, as in a few weeks to give protection to a much greater part of the work than had been damnified by the winter ſtorms, and this to ſo general a ſatisfaction, there was not a diſſenting perſon, every one applauding the invention, and declaring their opinions that this ſort of work, as it was more practicable, ſo as much better and ſtronger than cheſt-work as great ſtones were than little, and as ſtones cemented with iron and lead and ſet in tarrace were ſtronger than ſmall ſtones bound with wood in theſe ſeas, ſubject to the inconvenience of the worm; beſides, in a few weeks, there was this way a progreſs of about eighty yards, whereas the cheſt, though ready framed in England, would be ſeven or eight months ere it could be made perfect, and then give only an addition of ſix or ſeven yards to the length of the Mole.

Things being brought at Tangier unto ſo happy a ſtate, that the Mole never had ſo great a reputation as what it had recovered in a little time, Sir Hugh receives a mortifying letter from the Lords Commiſſioners.

Firſt, reflecting upon his long abſence, they tell him, "They had received a very ſad account of the condition of the Mole, and what they might expect from that rate of work and conduct, and in effect that all the money was little better than loſt; that it could not be rightly done but by cheſt-work; that it was

much ſhorter than at the Lord Sandwich's being at Tangier." After this, they commanded Sir Hugh to call together all the officers, and all others upon the place that were of good judgment, and, in the preſence of the Governor, to proceed upon the work, and the repair, in the way that ſhould be generally agreed to: and, in the cloſe of the letter, without ſpecifying a reaſon, they are pleaſed to command a reſtraint to Major Taylor's coming for England; and this their Lordſhips thought fit to do without taking the leaſt notice of any letters Sir Hugh had writ upon his journey, from the account of which, they might reaſonably have concluded the whole work for want of ſupplies in a diſcontinuance, or to mention a word of their intentions to repair the ill-uſage he had met with from the want of complying with the payments the Lords had ordered; ſo that, to attend the difficulty of making the Mole upon the different opinion of divers men, they were pleaſed to make it more impoſſible, from the want of money, and ſtore, and credit; to add to this, private advices came, that Sir Hugh's affairs in England were going to deſperation and ruin, himſelf at the time in diſburſe for the publick above ſixteen thouſand pounds. The common reflections that paſſed upon his little underſtanding in the affair, the wrong meaſures he had taken in the delays of his journey, the little conſideration that ſeemed to be had of him at home, in any intentions that appeared of payment of the money which was due, made the merchants look upon him as a perſon fitted by his private misfortunes to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public honour.

Sir Hugh was not Stoic enough, without any kind of melancholy, to paſs by the hard meaſure he thought he met with, in being by a little abſence ſo far ſubjected to the wiles of his enemies, as that they ſhould prevail to have his perſon and

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his labours ſo ſeverely concluded againſt, upon miſtaken reports, without giving him leave to ſpeak for himſelf, or conſidering at all what he had writ for qualifying the Lords in ſo overhaſty a proceeding; he thought he might have deſerved better than thus, for being ſo inſtrumental in the firſt beginning of the work, in giving it afterwards ſo much encouragement as for many months to labour himſelf in the heats and in the water, for having recovered the loſt reputation which the uncertainty of the ſea gave unto the work by boats, by introducing the practice of carrying ſtone by land according to what he had been uſed and accuſtomed to, for having ſo many years ſupplied the work by a continual expoſing his own eſtate and ſecurity, and had been ſo happy in preſerving all that time the reputation of juſt dealing and punctual payment, that, in ſpite of malice, the conduct in this particular was a reproach to other his Majeſty's public iſſues of money. However, bad as appeared the complexion of affairs, Sir Hugh wanted not his private conſolations; he could reſt quietly upon his pillow, free from any guilt, that want of honeſty or want of care could caſt upon him; and he was glad to hear himſelf aſperſed with no other ſins than want of ſkill and capacity equal to the truſt he had: he was enough convinced of his deficiency in this particular, but ſecure too that he acted with all the ſkill, and with all the faith, and with all the wit he had; and that, having been for above thirteen years in the practice and conſideration of this ſort of work, and having not been wanting to receive particular and private accounts from moſt parts where Moles had been built, and then, upon full reaſoning, concluding cheſted work was no ways proper in an uncertain and flowing ſea, Sir Hugh was ready to think that whatſoever other way of building the Mole ſhould be introduced hereafter

at Tangier, there would be ſoon found a neceſſity to bring all back to the practice had been ſo long continued; beſides, he conſidered that the weight of the employment made it neceſſary to have a perſon of ſome quality and fortune, and of a body ſuited to labour, to be at the head thereof; and that in this reſpect, notwithſtanding all the wants he had, it might be poſſibly difficult enough for his Majeſty to find another much better qualified, that would be content to leave the enjoyments of his eſtate in England, and to ſpend his ſtrength, and hazard his health, by a continual moyling in the heats, and in the winds, and in the rains of Africa. But what gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction was, reflection on that Providence which ſeemed ſo much to bleſs and conduct his affairs. By this, not long before, he had been delivered, notwithſtanding all difficulty of reducing that buſineſs, from the engagements of the contract, and was placed in a more honourable and ſafe poſt at the head of the work; that his journey by land to Tangier had brought him thither timely enough in the year for any effectual remedy, which could not ſooner have been applied for the ſecurity of the work, becauſe of the tempeſts of the winter ſeaſon; that the great contrivance of keeping Major Taylor at Tangier, which was probably ſet on foot ſtill the better to delude his Majeſty, came too late, and after his departure for England.

That, above all, the diſhonour which Sir Hugh had otherwiſe received from the Lords ſubjecting his conduct to the reſolutions of others, happened with little bad effect, becauſe before the letter came he had ſecured the greateſt part of the work, where it was moſt expoſed, to ſo univerſal a ſatisfaction, that, when the Lords letters came to be publicly read, there was not one man but atteſted the way by Sir Hugh found out

was the beſt and ſpeedieſt expedient that could be thought on, for ſecure carrying on the work; and, unto other particulars of the Lords letter, gave, under atteſtation of all their hands, an account much differing from the impreſſions the Lords had taken. Beſides, the reputation of the work was grown to ſo high a pitch, that all ſorts of pens ſpread now abroad the hopes they had; and this ſo great change being had under Sir Hugh's particular eye and conduct, and in a few weeks after his arrival, and all due to expedients of his own finding, was ſome argument that his thoughts had not been altogether ſo idle, nor his ſkill ſo very deficient, as ſome in their public diſcourſe at Tangier and at home had rendered it to be.

Soon after this, Sir Hugh returned his anſwer to the aforeſaid letters to the Lords Commiſſioners, which went to England about the time my Lord Howard went from Tangier, who had been an eye-witneſs to all proceedings. My Lord Middleton's kindneſs to the work ſtill continued, inſomuch as it wanted no encouragement his Excellency could give. His daily diſcourſe was in praiſe of the pillar-work, and the hopes he had how happy a ſucceſs the future work would meet with.

Not many days after this, Sir Hugh had letters out of England, that Major Taylor's arrival at Court had given his Majeſty great ſatisfaction as to all things relating to the Mole; and it was generally believed, that the evil offices which had been done him came from malice and envy; that money was ordered for payment of what Sir Hugh was in diſburſe, and all things ſeemed to have a fair proſpect: but the Governor at the ſame time giving him to underſtand, that he had poſitive inſtructions not to fortify Tiviott Hill, Sir Hugh looking upon this a ſpecial contrivance to hinder him of getting good ſtone for the further carrying on the Mole, thought it important enough to

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ſend Major Wickham expreſs into England, to repreſent unto the Lords Commiſſioners the neceſſity of ſecuring of Tiviott Hill; and that, without this addition of good ſtone, he could not anſwer that the work would be able to reſiſt the violence of winter ſtorms. My Lord Middleton agreed in the ſame opinion; and this paſſed the beginning of Auguſt, the cheſt being not yet placed.

If his Majeſty pleaſe to take care the work of the Mole may have a proportionable encouragement, and Sir Hugh's ſtrength doth continue, it is now in ſo fair a way, he need not deſpair to ſee it brought to good perfection; and then, upon the ſucceſs of things, cannot be denied as much ſkill in the affair, as may be due to the figure and the poſt he had in a work which, to his Majeſty's honour alone, muſt be reckoned among the greateſt of the age he lived in, and the moſt difficult, perhaps, of any other that ever was undertaken in the kind, if it be conſidered in reſpect of the diſtance of the place, and continual agitation of the ſeas, from the ſituation of it in the mouth of the Streights; and alſo without precedent in this regard, that it is the only one is known to have been any where made in a deep water and a flowing ſea. Sir Hugh may truly ſay, that at the firſt the undertaking was ſo unuſual as few underſtood it ſo well as himſelf; that he then declared it a thing of no great myſtery, but what might by any ingenious man be comprehended in ſix months: it is no wonder then if, after many years, the obſervers in the place ſhould think they underſtood the work as well as he; but hard from that cauſe to traduce him, at leaſt for thoſe who could find no expedient to mend the matter but by a cheſted work; a notion which though they underſtood not, it is ſtrange they would not conſider before they cried it up with ſo much zeal

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and confidence. It is a greater conſolation to Sir Hugh, after ſo much noiſe to blacken his endeavours, for him to find, that as the project of the Mole had its chief obligations to his beginning, ſo muſt it be ended upon his principles and concluſions; and that, whatſoever ſucceſs it has, the reſt of the actions of his life have not paſſed with ſo much ſilence; that if nothing be due to his ſkill, there may at leaſt ſomething be allowed to his good fortune. It was no little thing for Sir Hugh, a young man, and of no conſiderable fortune, to get himſelf into a public contract, joined with two men of the firſt eminency, the one for land the other for ſea ſervice. It was a great thing, after an eſtate fell to him, to get out of the incumbrances of the ſaid contract ſo honourably and ſo fairly as he did. Admit his paſſage by land to Tangier was begun upon never ſo much want of reaſon, yet it brought him thither timely enough, with proſperity and good ſucceſs.

Among his more private concernments muſt be reckoned an improvement to his eſtate of 2500 £. the year from his allum, which, being a buſineſs of great intricacy, and depending upon the ſatisfying of divers intereſts, paſſed not without a debt greatly due to his particular induſtry and care; nor did the quarrels forced upon him at his firſt acceſſes to the Court, from a great and brave man, end at all to his diſhonour, with any perſonal reflections upon his conduct or courage.

If God make him thankful for the bleſſings he hath already had, he may hope a continuance of them proportionable to what he may deſerve.

Accompt of the expences attending the conſtruction of the Mole of Tangier, from March 25, 1663, to the laſt of December, 1668, during the time it was under the direction of the Earl of Tiviot, Sir John Lawſon, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, jointly, as extracted from the Report recited in the Order of Council, Auguſt 11, 1669.

Preſent, the King's moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.	Earl of Bath.
	Earl of Orrery.
His Highneſs Prince Rupert.	Lord Biſhop of London.
Archbiſhop of Canterbury.	Lord Arlington.
Duke of Buckingham.	Lord Newport.
Duke of Ormond.	Lord Holles.
Lord Chamberlain.	Lord Aſhley.
Earl of Sandwich.	Mr. Treaſurer.
Earl of Craven.	Mr. Secretary Trevor.

Sir Hugh Cholmley hath exhibited to us a book, containing forty-one articles of accompts; which, being in the ſaid accompt promiſcuouſly ſet down, to the end your Lordſhips may have ſome brief view of the nature of them, we have reduced under the heads following.

	£.	s.	d.
For veſſels, boats, floats, and other engines, with cordage, ſails, pitch, tar, and neceſſaries thereunto belonging, - - -	4400	0	0
For iron and braſs work, lead, &c. about -	2600	0	0

	£. s. d.
For plank and other timber, with bolts, and timber utenſils of all ſorts, to about -	4300 0 0
To lime, tarrace, coals, brick, and gunpowder, to about - - - - - -	1900 0 0
To horſes bought, with proviſions and tackle for them, about - - -	6100 0 0
To freight of materials of all ſorts, and tranſportation of horſes and workmen, to about -	10700 0 0
To pay of artificers and workmen and labourers, with wages and allowances at Tangier, to about	41100 0 0
To rewards and payments for ſervices and aſſiſtance in the management of the affair, to about -	2600 0 0
For other diſburſements of ſundry natures, not well deducible to any head, to about -	4100 0 0
	84800 0 0

And appears by this accompt, that, including ſalaries and money advanced to Lord Tiviot and Sir John Lawſon, there had been upon the whole iſſued to that period, upon account of Tangier Mole, £. 103,965.

	£. s. d.
Amount of the expences under the management of Sir Hugh Cholmley, Surveyor-General, from the end of the foregoing accompt to the laſt of June, 1676, when the work finiſhed, was - - -	139932 5 4½
	103965 0 0
Total expenditure for Tangier Mole -	243897 5 4½

SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT.

I. Spoken on the King's Refusal of Mr. Seymour to be Speaker.

GENTLEMEN,

BY what I can judge, the matter of the present Debate is of the nature of those things which had better lie undetermined, than be decided either way. For as, on the one hand, it must be confessed if the King can refuse, and as often as he pleaseth, he doth, in effect, choose a Speaker; so, on the other hand, if he have no liberty to refuse, he can neither excuse an infirm man, nor reject the most obnoxious person that may be presented to him. The one seems hard upon the Commons, the other seems hard upon the King. Therefore, in my humble opinion, that which seems now most desirable, is to leave all things where we found them; and since nothing of our proceedings appear on the Journal of the House of Lords, it ought to be, I think, the endeavours of this House, that nothing may be entered, and then the business will rest where it did; so that without prejudice we may proceed to the choice of a new Speaker, which is my humble motion at this time.

II. Spoken upon the Debate about placing the Money given for diſbanding the Army in the Chamber of London.

Mr. Speaker,

HAD I the leaſt doubt the money now given would not be employed as is intended, I ſhould be among the forwardeſt of thoſe that are for placing it in the Chamber of London; but, as far as I can underſtand, the growing charge of the army is ſo uneaſy both to the King and Miniſters, both are as deſirous to have it diſbanded as any of us can be; and therefore, being thus poſſeſſed of my own thoughts, I am not ſo clear as to the neceſſity of placing it out of the uſual method of the Exchequer. For, firſt, I humbly pray it may be conſidered, this is a new Houſe of Commons; now to me it ſeems but ſeaſonable and well, that this new Houſe ſhould make the firſt preſent to the King in the moſt reſpectful way they can; I fear the contrary will look angerly, and as if we did not come with ſuch healing minds as I have heard many profeſs they did bring, and, as I think, is but neceſſary all ſhould bring at this time; beſides, as the proceeding ſeems leſs decent towards his Majeſty, ſo it appears to me not ſo wiſe towards ourſelves, conſidering what we have at this time to aſk of the King: I do not mean merely in reſpect to our ſecurity from plots at home, or invaſions from abroad, though theſe are much talked of, and ought, I think, to have their due conſideration; but I mean more eſpecially becauſe of another danger, which, though it be more remote, and more uncertain, yet hovers over our heads in ſo terrible a manner, that the nation is under a general diſquiet, and cannot be at reſt unleſs ſome great thing be done

done to make it ſo; and this is in reſpect of that danger we are all in, if the Crown ſhould fall to a Prince of another religion; in this caſe, we know, nothing can ſecure us but good laws, and that we cannot get theſe laws without the King's conſent. Now, in my humble opinion, it ought to be the wiſdom of this Houſe, that are here met all together about the public buſineſs of the nation, to tranſact the concerns of thoſe we do repreſent, by ſuch common rules of prudence and dexterity as, I think, every one out of this Houſe would take to ſerve a turn of his own; and ſure there is none of us, if he had ſome great boon to aſk, or other matter of conſequence to obtain from ſome great neighbours, would lay blocks of offence in his way; on the contrary, he would plan all this as well as he could, that ſo the way might be better prepared for obtaining thoſe greater matters. This is the cauſe of the Nation which we have in our hand, and ought to manage accordingly. On the other hand, when we come to thoſe great points, ſuch as concerns the intrinſical good of this Nation, there it will become us to ſtick cloſe to one another, to be united, to ſummon up all our force; all may be little enough. My meaning is, we ought not then to content ourſelves with leſs laws than ſuch as may come up to our fears, and be equal to their cauſes; by which means we ſhall acquit ourſelves like men to our country, we ſhall either get what we aſk, or ſuch a diſmiſſion as may be grateful to thoſe that ſent us hither. Therefore, in order to thoſe greater ends, it is my humble motion, that we ſhould truſt the King at this time, and give our money in the moſt obliging way, that ſo we may win upon his Majeſty, and diſappoint our enemies, that are always doing what they can to weaken the credit of this Houſe with his Majeſty.

III. Spoken

III. Spoken on Sunday the 27th of April, 1679, upon Occaſion of conſidering how to ſecure the Nation from the Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor.

Mr. Speaker,

I HOPE there is none within theſe walls, whoſe heart is not full of ſorrow, for the ſad occaſion of this day's Debate; it happens from nothing elſe than that the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown hath left the Religion for which his Father died. The difficulties this hath brought upon us are very great; but will, I think, be beſt determined by the reſolution of a very plain queſtion; and that is, whether it be poſſible that the King can lead his life with ſafety, whilſt it is the intereſt of the Papiſts to wiſh him dead. Now that it is their intereſt to remove a Proteſtant Prince, no man will, I think, queſtion, who conſiders the next in proſpect of the Crown is a Papiſt, and that at preſent the laws are heavy upon the Papiſts, and in a way to be made more heavy, by paſſing thoſe bills before us. It muſt be therefore the ſteady endeavours of this Houſe, to make things ſo much more uneaſy to the Papiſts after the King's death than they are whilſt he is living, that it ſhall be the intereſt of all the Papiſts, and of the Duke himſelf, to wiſh the continuance of the King's life. Theſe are the conſiderations that naturally lie before us; but what to propoſe, is above me, and fitter for men of more experience, and better prepared for it; yet, to the end no man may have any juſt diſcouragement, give me leave to ſay, it may be done, and by laws, and without hindering the ſucceſſion, and he that doubts this may

as well queſtion how the Government can be preſerved under the infancy or under the lunacy of a Prince: ſince we have already laws to preſerve us in theſe caſes, certainly we may have laws made to preſerve us under a Popiſh ſucceſſor; and therefore it is my humble motion, that the debates of the houſe may be at this time ſo to limit the power of the ſucceſſor, as to make the people ſafe, ſuppoſing ſuch a one is, or ſhall become, a Papiſt.

IV. Spoken upon Tueſday, the 6th Day of May, 1679, upon Occaſion of a Motion to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from his Majeſty's Councils.

Mr. Speaker,

IF thoſe worthy gentlemen that have moved for this addreſs have done it from hearts truly public; and that by removing miniſters they would, indeed, mend affairs; I muſt humbly take leave to tell this Houſe, I think they are wrong in the way and in the manner of their proceeding; for, as I have obſerved ever ſince the King came into England, there have been continued complaints of his miniſters, ſo I have lived to ſee great changes among them: all the great officers, and thoſe moſt in affairs, have been removed and changed no leſs than four, five, and ſix times over; and yet neither have complaints leſſened, nor, to ſpeak truth, affairs at all mended; but, from the great change of counſellors, and ſmall effects of councils, we may eaſily conclude, by the removing more miniſters, we may gratify particular paſſions. Here, one man may remove an enemy; there,

there, another may bring in a friend; but as for the publick, that is neither likely to go better or worſe, unleſs (as was not long ſince obſerved by a worthy member of this Houſe) there be a change of maxims, and of meaſures, and of rules, which, under favour, I conceive, have influenced and miſled the miniſters. But here I know it will be aſked, how came theſe maxims to Court? who is it that hath fixed them there? how ſhall we hope for a cure, if it be not by removing thoſe that have appeared moſt in the adminiſtration of affairs? To this I humbly take leave to ſay, that when it pleaſed God, from the troubles of the late times, to ſend our Princes beyond ſea, in that exiled condition it was in all probability that they grew acquainted with foreign maxims; and poſſibly it pleaſed God, in order to our puniſhment, for having dealt ſo hardly with our Princes, to ſuffer them to return home full of ſuch impreſſions as have ſince proved no leſs a prejudice to themſelves than to the people. But when they did come home, our hearts were ſo full of gladneſs, and our eyes with joy, we could not ſee how theſe things crept in upon us: for then it was that we connived at ſomething like a ſtanding army, and thought it but neceſſary for the King's ſecurity; and ſo perhaps it was, conſidering the uncertainty of thoſe times: but certainly it was in derogation to the laws of England, which, as they give protection to the meaneſt ſubject, ſo they much better hedge-in and ſecure the Sovereign, and will, I doubt not, at laſt be found, not only the cheapeſt, but the beſt and moſt natural guard to an Engliſh Monarch. It was then that we proclaimed ſo loudly, that the Militia was ſolely in the King; which though it might be his right, our wiſe anceſtors thought our liberties better ſecured whilſt this great point lodged more in the dark, and was not explained by Parliament.

liament. It was then that we gave away ſo freely the people's money, that the King ſet leſs regard to his own paternal revenue; but conſumed that in his bounty, to the enrichment perhaps of a few, but to the certain impoveriſhment of his ſubjects in general, out of whoſe purſes the ſupply was again to be renewed. It was in thoſe days of joy that we took into our boſom our neighbours the children of Rome, that they lived without difference or diſcrimination among us; and, for aught I know, might have continued ſo to this very day, our elder brothers at Court, and in the country the only happy men, as free from all offices of charge and burthen, had they not, contrary to all the rules of common hoſpitality and friendſhip, endeavoured to impoſe their Religion upon the major part of this nation, and contrary to that which was its great ſenſe and intereſt: and yet they thought this feaſible, having firſt prepared the way by debauching the youth of the land, by making our ſtrong men weak with principles of atheiſm and immorality, that ſo the Houſe, being ſwept clean of all religion, might be fit to receive the impreſſions of any, and then they grew wanton and bold: and though it be treaſon to tamper with the meaneſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, in the point of changing his religion; yet theſe men had confidence not only to tempt, but to pervert the greateſt of our Princes; and what is the end of all their folly, but misfortune to him and them, with a proſpect of miſery to ourſelves?

Thus, Sir, I have ſhewn how, in all probability, it was in a foreign land, that our Princes came acquainted with foreign maxims, how they ſtole in upon ourſelves under a tranſport of joy; of what ill conſequence it hath, and ever will be, to enter into any ſtrict correſpondence or familiarity with men of ſo different principles and intereſt as are thoſe of the Roman

Church. Give me leave now to ſhew, in a few words, who thoſe Miniſters are, that probably have hitherto, and do at this day, foment and cheriſh ſuch ill maxims; and then, I think, we may be in a fair way to fix our addreſſes ſo as to bring a cure and healing to our preſent diſtempers. I cannot think it in our Engliſh miniſters, from the ſmall effect our many changes have met with. I know they are men ſubject to paſſions, and not unlikely have complied too much in order to preſerve their places and greatneſs; but, I think, this hath been by a motion forced and unnatural, for ſure there is none of our countrymen but from the breaſts of their mother, and with their firſt milk, ſuck in principles that are more truly Engliſh. I take it then to proceed, and be wholly owing to that great familiarity and acceſs, which the Miniſters of foreign Princes, and more eſpecially thoſe of France, have unto his Majeſty's privacies and ſolitudes. Theſe are the men that probably whiſper into his royal ears, that the Engliſh are a people rich and ſtubborn, and muſt be governed after the manner of their neighbours by a rod of iron; that no Religion ought to be admitted but that which beſt quadrates with Government; and that for Monarchy none was genteel and gay enough, excepting that of Rome; that for a King to make himſelf head of the Proteſtant intereſt, was plainly againſt all ſenſe and reaſon, becauſe it was to make himſelf head of a ſort of men whoſe principles led to a commonwealth; men in their natures ſour and moroſe, and whoſe converſation was no ways ſuited to the refined manners of a Court. Would you then cure the evil, take heed you loſe not by miſtaking the chace, by making a ſtoop too low, and miſbecoming the grandeur of this Houſe; but lay the axe to the root of the tree, and by ſome ſeaſonable and well-grounded addreſs obtain his Royal

aſſurance, that he will admit theſe foreign Miniſters to his preſence no other ways than in a formal and ceremonious way, as hath been the cuſtom of preceding times; and then we may promiſe to ourſelves, his Majeſty being left to his own excellent nature, that his heart will be ready to receive, and his ſtomach to concoct, the good advice and wholeſome counſels of this Houſe; which I pray God to grant!

V. Spoken on Sunday, the 11th of May, 1679, being the ſecond Time appointed for the Conſideration how to ſecure the Nation againſt a Popiſh Succeſſion.

Mr. Speaker,

IN my humble opinion, thoſe worthy gentlemen that think the King's offers are not ſufficient for us to ground ſuch Acts of Parliament upon as may ſecure us againſt the danger of a Popiſh ſucceſſion, think too meanly and too contemptibly of the laws of England, which have hitherto preſerved the rights of our fathers; and, I queſtion not, may be ſo framed upon the preſent occaſion as to preſerve our rights and our religion too. Let us then get the laws on our ſide, by which we may arm and defend ourſelves, by which it may be made treaſon to act, though it be with commiſſion of ſuch Popiſh Prince himſelf; and if he have neither power of the purſe, or of the ſword, I think, we need not fear the empty name of King, eſpecially in ſo unpopular a quarrel as Popery is.

Beſides, this ſeems all we can honeſtly do; and when we have done our beſt, we have diſcharged our duty to our country, and ought to ſubmit the reſt to the good pleaſure of God

Almighty, who hath hitherto governed the world, and will do ſo, and all human affairs, under ſome uncertainty, that there may be a continual dependance on his Providence. But, I pray you, let us conſider what the King could well have offered more than he hath done at this time. Suppoſe he had given us leave to put by the Duke, as ſome judge of abſolute neceſſity; I am perſuaded, upon a due conſideration, this courſe will appear ſo full of inconvenience, that we ourſelves ſhould not agree to it: for, beſides that there are many doubting men that will queſtion the very validity of ſuch an Act of Parliament; ſo if we put by the Duke, whom ſhall we give the ſceptre to? Some have moved it may go to the next Proteſtant Prince; but where he is, or who can ſay, after the death of the King, ſuch Prince may not lodge many a year in the bowels of his father? Let us be careful not to loſe all by graſping at too much at once; but remember, by getting firſt that great thing which is at preſent offered, we are nothing removed from getting hereafter what may be thought further neceſſary for our ſecurity on this occaſion; but if, from the delay, it ſhould pleaſe God to take his Majeſty away, either from the contingency of human nature, or the violence of wicked hands, in what a ſad and deplorable condition would this poor nation be left in! and how can we anſwer to thoſe that ſent us hither, the loſs of ſo fair an opportunity of ſecuring ourſelves as the King hath put into our hands!! It is, therefore, my humble motion, that, without the loſs of any more time, there be immediately choſen ſome worthy members of this Houſe, to whoſe care it may be committed the preparing a bill for our ſecurity againſt the Duke, or any other Popiſh ſucceſſor, by taking out of his hands all power that may in any kind be held prejudicial to our ſafety, and by

placing

placing ſuch authority in ſucceſſive Parliaments, as may be from time to time neceſſary to preſerve ourſelves, under ſuch unhappy conjuncture of affairs as will always be, when the Prince and the ſubject are of different religion.

VI. Spoken on the Impeachment of the Earl of Danby, 1679.

Mr. Speaker,

I HOPE there is none in this Houſe, that, either out of prejudice or favour, ſeeks to haſten or delay the trials of the Popiſh Lords, or that of the Earl of Danby. Juſtice ought to be equal unto all; and where the guilt is to be puniſhed with loſs of life and loſs of blood, there the proſecution ought to be with as much phlegm and coldneſs as can poſſibly ſtand with our zeal, and with our love to public juſtice: I therefore humbly pray the favour of this Houſe, to conſider the preſent matter nakedly and plainly as it appears to me; and then we ſhall find the Popiſh Lords have laid much longer in durance than my Lord of Danby; that they were impriſoned before him; that the crimes laid to their charge are treaſon in the plaineſt manner, and directly againſt the words of the ſtatute, for deſigning to take away the King's life; that the way in order to the trial of theſe Lords is plain, and without obſtruction, the ſpiritual Lords having offered to withdraw themſelves from firſt to laſt, and will doubtleſſly do ſo again. We ſhall alſo find, ſuch is the expectation of the people, eſpecially of the crowd and the multitude, upon the trial of the Popiſh lords, they will not be eaſily ſatisfied if this be longer delayed, many thinking already that it happens for want of evidence

evidence to make their proceſs; others, by contrivance of the friends theſe Lords may have, both within the doors of each Houſe and without, by their ſtirring up of new points, to delay matters ſo as all may eſcape. He that gives me time, we ſay, gives me life; and ſo it may be in the preſent caſe, and therefore it doth behove us the more to go forward in trying the Popiſh Lords. Now the arguments that preſs on the other ſide are chiefly from the neceſſity to have firſt declared the invalidity of my Lord of Danby's pardon. I confeſs, this ſeems a great point, and what may, I think, concern us very much; and yet I cannot ſee what inconvenience there may be, if a queſtion, which hath never been ſtirred before, ſhould lye as it hath hitherto done for a few days longer, and until the trial of the Popiſh Lords be over, to the end we may a little temporize with the humour of the people, and prevent our enemies, by fomenting the differences between the two Houſes, to prevail upon his Majeſty to ſend both into the country once more, to the loſs of ſo many good and neceſſary bills as lay before us. Now, as to what is commonly ſaid of the pardon, in what a ſad condition the ſubject is in if the King have ſuch a right; and how impoſſible it will be to bring a great malefactor to puniſhment: nay, by ſome it hath been urged further, either this ſeſſion or the laſt, as if the conſequence of this right of pardon in the King, were to depart from the power of raiſing money, which is in ourſelves. If diſcourſes of this kind be fully conſidered, they will rather appear eloquent declamations of our misfortunes, than ſolid arguments for our right; excellent topics of rhetoric to inflame our zeal, to get the thing ſettled as it is deſirable for our advantage, and in this reſpect may be very uſeful, if at the ſame time it doth not miſlead our underſtanding to worſe conſequences, by ſuppoſing

poſing that poſſible which is never to be admitted by an Engliſhman. If, from ſuch a right to pardon, or any other force, we ſuppoſe the King can raiſe money, we yield the point; for then we admit the King hath power to do that which will keep his counſellors and his inſtruments from being queſtioned, or Parliaments from meeting to make their complaints. Let then a point ſo nice and ſo dear to us never be ſo much countenanced as to be admitted, or ſuppoſed practicable, within theſe walls, and from hence diſcourſed and commented upon in the coffee-houſes of our great city; but let the quite contrary to this be publiſhed through the kingdom, and let us make it every where known, what will be found a certain truth, that if the miniſters ſhall be at any time ſo temerarious and hardy, as to perſuade this or any of our Kings to raiſe money without conſent of Parliament, it will fill the heart of every Engliſhman with ſo juſt an indignation, that on the ſudden the conſequence of ſuch irregular proceedings will be a general interruption to the trade and to the buſineſs of the nation; our men will leave the plough, and our women forget the affairs of their family; the country will be filled with cries, and the city with lamentation, and the very palaces of our Princes with clamours and diſorders; and then the general diſturbance will ſoon ſhew the neceſſity of a Parliament to compoſe and pacify affairs. Let then the inſtruments of ſuch public miſery appear with their pardons in their hands, and plead the legality of them. I doubt not our repreſentatives will let them know, that an Act of Parliament doth very legally invalid ſuch pardons; and what ought reaſonably to paſs in theſe extraordinary caſes, that vengeance may be brought upon the hated heads of ſuch miſdoing men, and they deſervedly thruſt up with their pardons hanging at their girdles.

girdles. This right of money is one of the pillars of the Government, ſo inherent in the people, an Act of Parliament cannot take it from them, no more than it can deſtroy Monarchy, or hinder the ſucceſſion from paſſing through the bowels of the man that is born to it. Let us not then deny the nation that public juſtice which it groans for, from melancholy ſpeculations and ſuppoſitions that are impracticable in themſelves, and at this conjuncture ſeem not ſo ſeaſonable or well-timed; but let us be aſſured of one of theſe two things, that if it be for the good of the ſubject, that in acts of grace and mercy the King's power be boundleſs and unlimited, then it is well ſuch power be continued in him; if, on the contrary, it be of that ill conſequence moſt apprehend, then let every man know we have that in our hands will anſwer the inconvenience, even that which the wiſe man tells us will anſwer every thing, Money; Money, which cannot be taken from us. Let us then keep our purſes cloſe, and to be ſure this matter will be ſo explained by Act of Parliament, as may be for the public ſatisfaction; and if the doing it be of ſudden haſte and importance, the beſt way will be to commit the care of drawing ſuch a bill, as may declare our right in this point, to ſome worthy and knowing men of this houſe; but let not this, or any thing elſe, hinder the trial of the Popiſh Lords, leſt from theſe diverſions we be once more prorogued, without doing any public thing, and this to the prejudice of the government itſelf, that moſt excellent government which ought to be our jealouſy to preſerve with full and entire reputation; but if it be ſo, that when our religion, and all that is dear to us, lies at ſtake, and the nation ſeems as it were gaſping for life, and paſſing its laſt blood, bleed it muſt to death, without any hand to ſtop the wound; if, from the artifice of ſome

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dextrous perſon, there be at the ſame time ſet on foot a new point of difference between the two Houſes, or between either and the King: what then can a wiſe man think, but that ſomething is deficient in our very conſtitution, that will either upon the preſent exigency, or upon the like hereafter, ſuffer it to fall to ruin, as much againſt reaſon as was this Houſe conſumed to aſhes from a flame which the owner might have eaſily extinguiſhed, had he not thought it more reaſonable firſt to look after the deciſion in a point of a law, ſtarted on the ſudden, to the prejudice of his inheritance and title?

Thus, Sir, I have taken liberty to ſpeak my thoughts freely upon the preſent occaſion, and I have ſpoken what I think from the bottom of my heart. Let every man do ſo, as I hope every man will, without other deſigns and intereſt than what may be for the public good; and, I doubt not, God will ſo proſper our counſels, we ſhall bring the ſhip into harbour, which is at preſent in great hazard from rocks and ſands that encompaſs it on all ſides, to the endangering the very loſs of the land, and all that is of value with us, we ourſelves and our whole intereſt being at ſea, and embarked upon the ſame floaty and leaking veſſel. Let therefore every man touch his conſcience to the quick; and let none in this Houſe go, as they ſaid many did in the laſt, by their eyes, and not by their ears. Let no man pin himſelf upon this party, or that intereſt; but let every man this day, and to-morrow, and every day, ſo ſpeak, and ſo vote, as ſhall be to the conviction of his underſtanding; and then we may hope this poor country of ours, which was lately the envy of her enemies, but is now fallen to be the pity of her friends, will once more, upon an honeſt plain Engliſh intereſt, and true Proteſtant baſis, both in Prince and ſubject, recover her ancient ſplendour and

greatneſs. Nor ſhall I at all deſpair, by God's bleſſing, and the healing counſels of this houſe, melancholy and gloomy as is its preſent ſhape, that we ourſelves may all of us live to ſee that glorious day.

VII. Speech on the Impeachment of the Earl of Danby.

I HAVE obſerved, ever ſince the Reſtoration of his Majeſty, there hath been a continual complaint againſt his Miniſters; and I have lived to ſee, among theſe great changes, ſeveral Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers, many Lord Treaſurers and Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, great variety of Secretaries of State, and yet affairs to grow rather worſe than better. I have alſo obſerved ſome perſons, that were greatly complained of whilſt in buſineſs, were no ſooner out of affairs but generally eſteemed worthy honeſt men. This made me ſuſpect the Miniſters were not ſo much in fault as their places; and that the great heat with which they were uſually purſued aroſe very often, and in good meaſure, out of deſire to remove an enemy, or love to bring in a friend. This made me very contentedly ſubmit to whatever changes his Majeſty made among his Miniſters, and to make ſuch reſpectful application to thoſe in the adminiſtration of affairs as my buſineſs did require; but finding ſtill a general unquietneſs and diſſatisfaction in the minds of ſober thinking men, and having a fairer opinion of the Miniſters than many others had, I was at a loſs where to lodge the root of all our evils. In the end, I knew not where to center it better than among the foreign

 Miniſters,

Miniſters, eſpecially thoſe that ſerve the intereſt of France: theſe have, I think, chiefly prevailed upon the Duke to the prejudice of Religion, which is the great ſtumbling-block of offence, and indeed the plain cauſe of all our miſeries; theſe have inſinuated themſelves into his Majeſty's privacies, I fear, to the prejudice of his intereſts; and therefore I think it would be much more for the public good, if we employed ourſelves about removing theſe foreign Miniſters from that privacy and familiar acceſs they have to his Majeſty, and by this means take away the original evil; for, without this, it is plain, the change of other Miniſters will do little good, or have other effect than to make theſe places, that ought to be of moſt honourable eſteem, ſo uneaſy and unquiet, no man of reputation will accept of them. For the preſent Lord that is now complained of, I have, I confeſs, the honour to be his countryman; but our houſes are near fourſcore miles diſtant; and I was ſo little known to him, that I do not remember, before he was Lord Treaſurer, that I ever ſpoke to him three times, nor much oftener ſince he hath been in that great place; but, meeting him ſometimes at the Tangier Council, I obſerved him very ready to promote the public ſervice; that as to the matter of money, he ſupplied it with more exactneſs than ever I had known either in the time of preceding Lord Treaſurers or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; and, beſides the ordinary pay, that he had taken care for arrears that had been long due, and could never be obtained by any former applications to the Treaſury; and I found all this done with leſs extraordinary Parliament ſupplies, than was wont to be given before his Lordſhip's time; all which made me conclude his Lordſhip exceeding well qualified for the poſt he held, and that the King was well ſerved in the buſineſs of the Treaſury, which was

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the moſt important place in the nation. Then diſcourſing with many of the Fathers of the Church, I found they had a fair opinion of his Lordſhip, and did generally own the Church had received more countenance from him, than from any other Miniſter that had gone before; and that they did not only get good words, but good effects from his Lordſhip's favour. I heard from all hands his public diſcourſes were much againſt the French intereſt; that the great deſign thoſe of the Church of Rome had, to fill the eminent places with very undeſerving Churchmen, met with an obſtruction, and was happily prevented, which was chiefly owing to that countenance his Lordſhip gave the Church; and not only in public, but at the Cabinet, he declared himſelf ſo plainly, it was wondered how he could do it, and preſerve his intereſts; and it made him ſuſpected to ſome, as if, underhand, he gave other counſels, inſomuch that I confeſs I had my doubts, until there appeared ſo great an inſtance of his ſincerity in the marriage of the Prince of Orange, as diſperſed all my jealouſy, for nothing could have been thought on more advantageous to the Proteſtant intereſt, or prejudicial to that of France; and the dextrous and ſecret management of the affair, whereby France was ſo much ſurprized, gave great reputation to our counſels, and made me full of hopes our affairs were mending. Upon the Prince of Orange's coming hither, I expected ſuch alliances would have been made, as might have given great diſturbance to France; and that the war would have been kept up, becauſe peace was not for the private intereſts of the Prince of Orange: but I ſoon found the Dutch and the Confederates thought on nothing ſo much as peace, ſo that their whole bent was to obtain peace with moſt advantage to themſelves; to this purpoſe they made their own project, which left the French King only

a ſingle barrier to his conqueſts, and engaged our Maſter ſo that he was fixed, and alſo the Duke, upon the reaſonableneſs of this demand; and preſſed it hard upon his Chriſtian Majeſty; who, being averſe to the granting ſo good a peace, and irritated upon the match with Orange, ſent over young Monſ. Rouiny to obſtruct and delay all he could. I remember, upon the coming over of this Monſ. Rouiny, it was all over the town, how he and my Lord Treaſurer had been at very high words, and that they parted very ill. Many thought this a feigned buſineſs; but I happened the next day to dine with this Monſ. Rouiny, and it was plain to obſerve how thoughtful and diſturbed he was, inſomuch that ſeveral of the company took notice of it, and concluded his negociations went ill, and that it was a real truth what was ſaid to have paſſed between him and my Lord Treaſurer; ſo that all this while my Lord Treaſurer's actings againſt the French intereſt kept pace with his diſcourſes; and the letters ſince printed, and which were about that time writ to my Lord Treaſurer from the Ambaſſador at Paris, ſpeak plainly how young Rouiny was ſent over into England on purpoſe to prejudice my Lord Treaſurer with the King, and that his father had laid it down as a maxim, the French intereſts would never do well in England, unleſs the great Treaſurer were removed. It was thought one reaſon, that made the French leſs complying at this time, was from the having got the Parliament prorogued to April, which ſoon after the King appointed to ſit at the time, and in this ſurprized the Miniſters of France. The Parliament met, as I remember, in and they all agreed upon a war with France, and addreſſed to his Majeſty not to make any peace upon leſs terms than that of the Perenaan; but the moſt forward and wiſe for this ſoon changed their opinion, when a few poſts

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brought word how different were the thoughts of the Confederates, and how impoſſible it was to engage them in war, if they could obtain ſuch a peace as they had projected; time ſpends, and the Parliament proceed to give money upon an act, intituled "An Act for an active war with France;" and my Lord Treaſurer's great fault ſeems to be, that ſoon after the paſſing of this act, he writes to the Ambaſſador at Paris, that he ſhould proceed upon the peace. I pray you conſider, if the King had at any time altered the words of the act; it had been a mighty diſcouragement to the Confederates, and what, on the other hand, would probably have raiſed the expectation of the French; and yet, notwithſtanding thoſe words of the act, I ſuppoſe none will deny but there went a tacit conſent and truſt in his Majeſty, who is the undoubted judge of war and peace, that he ſhould not enter into the war raſhly, without allies, and againſt all reaſon, no more than if an act of Parliament had paſſed for an Admiral to burn the French fleet wherever he ſees them, ſhould not be obliged to the thing if he found their ſhips ſo poſted and guarded with ſhoals and rocks, that the attempt would, in all probability, be the loſs of his own fleet, without much prejudice to that he was ſent to deſtroy. I pray you again conſider what peace it is my Lord Treaſurer deſires the Ambaſſador to purſue; it was that the project of which was ſent by the uſual hands of the Secretary, the ſame which was the higheſt of the expectation of the Confederates. Obſerve alſo how this is clogged: if the French King refuſed, then no further offers, but to have it made known, this was all our Maſter would undertake for, if conſented to, than money to be inſiſted upon; and becauſe ſome reaſon was to be given for this, a very good one is thought upon, ſuch as might very probably work upon the French, and

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bring them to the peace the Confederates desired, to wit, that the Parliament was so much for war, and would be so ill pleased with any sort of peace, his Majesty could not suddenly, if this happened, expect supplies from his people; nor was this demand of money without the privity of the Allies themselves, for in one part of my Lord Treasurer's letter notice is taken that they did consent unto it, only thought the demand was for so long a time, it is plain they desired the peace, and were unwilling any thing should pass to hinder this, and so desirous to make the difficulties as little as is possible. I pray you now, if the Ambassador had given this letter to the French King, and he had sent it to the Allies, what prejudice would it have done his Majesty? Truly quite contrary, it must have done him much right, by letting them see he was very steady, either to enter into war, or else to obtain a peace to the utmost of their own hopes and demands: had my Lord Treasurer been criminal, he might have writ to the Ambassador, to assure the French King, if he would pay well for it, means should be used to obtain for him much better terms than what the Confederates proposed; and it must be observed that my Lord Treasurer writes as one that did not at all expect the French would agree to these terms, and advises the Ambassador to take his measures accordingly, implying, that our King would come to no other terms, and that then war must be expected; but the French King hastened matters, by publishing his proposals for peace, which, although much worse than that our Master endeavoured, was however greedily swallowed by the Dutch, and in the end the peace concluded. There is one other passage in my Lord Treasurer's letter, that I cannot pass over, because it hath made a very ill noise; it is, that he advises the Secretaries should not be acquainted with the whole transac-

tion.

tion. It might have looked better, I confeſs, if this had been omitted. On the other ſide, if his Majeſty pleaſe that his affairs paſs by any other hands than the Secretaries, I do not ſee but that he muſt be obeyed; but it is plain to me, my Lord Treaſurer was led into this by way of return to the Ambaſſador's kindneſs who began the commerce; for in one of his printed letters to my Lord Treaſurer, he tells his Lordſhip that he had not explained ſo much the deſigns of Monſ. Rouiny's coming into England to the Secretaries as to his Lordſhip, and deſired he would pleaſe to communicate it only to the King himſelf, ſo that the thing ſeems a kind of making court, begun by the Ambaſſador, and which both ſides were ready to embrace.

To conclude: were my Lord Treaſurer as criminal as I think he appears innocent, yet certainly it is at this time no proper ſeaſon to fall upon the Miniſters, leſt by catching at too much we loſe all. I have heard ſome wiſe men of the laſt Parliament, that were not at all affectionate to my Lord Treaſurer, confeſs, the falling upon him was ſo very unſeaſonable, they could not but think it was probably ſet a-foot by the Romiſh intereſt, poſſibly by the French, if old Rouiny's maxims have any weight in that Court, to wit, that his Lordſhip muſt be ruined, or the French intereſts decline in the Engliſh Court. Therefore my humble advice is, that this Houſe proceed firſt to remove the over-great acceſs of foreign Miniſters to his Majeſty's perſon; and then to the making ſuch wholeſome laws as may probably ſecure our peace, and our laws, and our religions, if a Prince of the Popiſh religion come to reign.

Prologue to the Conqueſt of Mexico, acted at Whitby, on Shrove-Monday and Tueſday, the 10th and 11th of February, 1683.

PLAYERS, that uſe to act a part,
To eat their bread, may ſtudy art,
As Poets do, for the ſame cauſe,
Write, and fawn, and beg applauſe;
But we who act ourſelves to pleaſe,
Are above ſuch care, and at our eaſe;
If we act ill, and you do hiſs,
We turn our backs, and bid you kiſs.
Faith, Ladies, ſince it is juſt ſo,
You had better firſt turn tails and go;
For, if you ſtay, we ſhall recite
A ſtory ſad, will make you bite
Your lips with rage; at any rate
Keep ſilence, leſt we break your pate.
Thus humbled, in pure kind pity,
We may let you hear our doleful ditty,
For we both kill and ſlay in our rage,
Not to pleaſe you, but to pleaſe our ſtage.
The reſt of the Prologue I have forgot,
You know what to truſt to, it matters not.
Ladies, we are not ſo ill bred
As to approve of all the Poet ſaid;
And now hither come to excuſe,
Not our faults, but his abuſe.

To you, who may ſee Plays for your delight,
Now in penance come to do us right,
As Players we are careleſs to do well,
But when we act ourſelves we would excel.
To be civil becomes the nobleſt mind,
And thus the greateſt may be kind.
Innocent mirth is our delight;
Farewell; we bid you all good night.